

Black's School History

I

ENGLISH HISTORY ILLUSTRATED
FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

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ENGLISH HISTORY ILLUSTRATED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

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v. 3

1399—1485

BY

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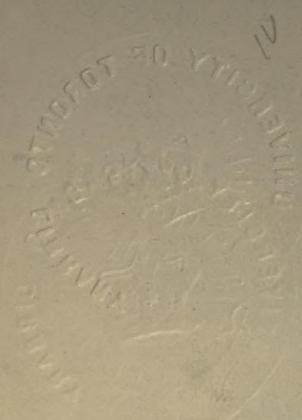
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WILLIAM AND ANNE CLAY

EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE task of teaching history to the middle and upper forms of schools presents many difficulties. Even when the best text-book has been mastered, there is something wanting, for the highest value of history as an educational subject lies not in the exercise of the memory only, but in the training of the reasoning power. Every teacher of history knows three degrees of interest which boys take: first and least, in that which they read in a book; secondly, in what they are told by way of supplement to the book; third, and best of all, in what they infer for themselves. History should not merely be learnt, but understood; and the smallest efforts of the pupil towards tracing causes and effects for himself and drawing inferences from the facts which he learns are worth more than the most glib repetition of observations cut and dried in the text-book.

The series of which this volume forms a part is framed on a new plan. It is made up of extracts from writers either strictly contemporary or else who

lived so near the period which they describe that they can be regarded as first-hand authorities. The extracts have been chosen, not with a view of discussing knotty historical points, but to make clear and vivid the great events. By reading them a boy will have before him a view of the time as some of the men of the time saw it. Finally, to supplement the historians, extracts are given from political songs and verse, and in some cases from the writings of poets who though not contemporary, yet illustrate the historical events they describe.

Volumes of this kind must be a useful supplement to any text-book, which, however good it is, is bound by its very nature to fail in giving the historical and literary atmosphere of the times, and further is often hindered by its limits of space from giving any but the briefest description of events. To all teachers who wish to go beyond the text-book, this series will be a valuable storehouse of illustration. Advanced students, from whom nowadays some knowledge of contemporary authorities is expected, will find these volumes spare them much trouble by collecting for them a mass of information which otherwise they would have to seek among a multitude of books. Finally, those to whom chroniclers' Latin and medieval French are a stumbling-block will welcome the translations here offered.

But it is confidently hoped that these volumes will have a use beyond being a mere supplement

for the teacher and the advanced student. They have been designed principally to serve as text-books, or rather to supply the place of text-books, in the hands of a class.

The extracts have been so chosen as to give an account of all the principal events in the period covered, either in their chronological order or in their logical connection. An analysis of the period is given at the end of each volume, to be a guide to the reader and to refresh his memory. Some additional information is offered in notes, though this is done sparingly, since it should be the work of the teacher to supply the explanations that are needed. Further, where archaic English would present any serious difficulty, the spelling, and in some cases the diction of the authorities, has been simplified.

It is true that the use of these books may demand from the teacher more careful preparation of his history lesson than has sometimes been given in the past. But the old way of asking cut-and-dried questions out of the text-book and getting cut-and-dried answers is being fast discarded as unsatisfactory: there are few teachers who would grudge trouble if their work were to produce better results. And it is certain that infinitely better results are got from teaching that is largely explanation by word of mouth than from mere reading and questioning on a text-book, since the pupils are thus trained to think for themselves instead of having their thinking

done for them. Understanding is a far more attractive process than merely learning. A multitude of disconnected facts is merely a burden to the memory; on the other hand, the mind is strengthened by the practice of drawing inferences, and putting together cause and effect. These volumes are meant to encourage the reasoning powers as well as the memory.

Two other features in the series remain for notice. Each volume is accompanied by notices of the writers from whom extracts are taken, and also by a set of bibliographical notes on the most useful authorities, modern as well as contemporary, so that the student has before him information for a more complete investigation of any point. And further, while to the volumes are assigned such limits as are commonly chosen for periods of our history, each volume is divisible into two parts, either of which can be supplied separately, so that the series can be adapted for the study of shorter periods which are sometimes required for examination.

G. T. W.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

1399-1453. *THE END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR*

THE period 1399-1485 opens with the revolution which deposed Richard II. and set Henry of Lancaster on his throne, is spent in insurrections, rivalries, and wars, both foreign and civil, and closes with the death of Richard III. on the field of Bosworth.

Henry IV., the first of the Lancastrian kings, was welcomed as the representative of law and order. His claim to kingship was based on the threefold title of descent, of conquest, and of election by Parliament. This last and most important basis of their claim proved at once the strength and the weakness of the House of Lancaster. Under the three Lancastrian Henries, Parliament gained an ascendancy greater than ever before. 'Constitutional progress outran administrative order.'* It is noteworthy that, as great as was the power of Parliament during the first half of the fifteenth century,

* Stubbs.

so complete was its collapse in the latter half of the century.

The House of York, on the other hand, came forward to claim the crown as legitimists. It was by right of blood alone that Richard Plantagenet demanded the succession in 1460, and this claim was established by his son, Edward IV. He, by his wealth and popularity, and Richard III., by his ability and unscrupulousness, were able to free themselves from parliamentary control.

The period falls into two broad divisions :

- (1) 1399-1453—the latter half of the Hundred Years' War.
- (2) 1450-1485—the Wars of the Roses.

The keynote of the difficulties of the government of the period is the want of money in the royal treasury. The crown revenues no longer sufficed to cover the increasing expenses of the administration ; the king was forced to ask for grants of supplies from Parliament. Owing to the general insecurity of the times, and to the general lack of confidence in the ruling house, Parliament was not liberal in its grants. The reign of Henry IV. shows abundant illustrations of this. The king's very movements were hampered by his poverty. The chief cause of complaint of the Percies before the battle of Shrewsbury was that the king had not repaid the money alleged to have been spent by them in his service.* Again, after the suppression of the rebellion of Lord Mowbray and Archbishop

* *Vide* extract No. 12.

Scrope, the king could not for lack of money lead his troops to Wales against Glendower.* His envoys abroad wrote threatening to resign their commissions if their wages were not paid,† while from Ireland the king was informed that his son Thomas, his lieutenant in Ireland, had no money and nothing left to pledge.‡ In contrast with the poverty of the king was the wealth of the nobles. Such great houses as that of the Percies under Henry IV., and of the Nevilles under Henry VI. and Edward IV., overshadowed the throne. Henry IV., finding himself too poor to purchase the continued loyalty of the Percies, was obliged to meet them in open field. Moreover, as a counterpoise to the power of his nobles, the support of the church became necessary to him. To gain this he pledged himself to persecute the Lollards.

The Statute de Heretico Comburendo was passed in 1401,§ and immediately after its first victim, Sawtre, was executed. In spite of persecution, the Lollard movement increased steadily in force, until it reached its climax and its doom (as a political power) in the great unsuccessful meeting in St. Giles's Fields in 1413.|| The alliance with the church gave the crown no added strength, for the church, while its bishops were gathering wealth and political influence at court, lost its spiritual hold on the people.

At Henry IV.'s death the House of Lancaster was firmly established. 'The mere maintenance of his

* *Vide* No. 20.

† *Vide* Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV. Rolls Series.

‡ *Vide ibid.*

§ *Vide* No. 6.

|| *Vide* No. 7.

power through the troubled years of his reign is the best proof of the king's ability.' Henry V. was free to redeem the promise of his house by a renewal of the French wars. France was weakened by the struggles between the two rival parties, followers of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans. The treacherous murder of the Duke of Orleans in 1407, at the instigation of his rival, had thrown power into the hands of the Burgundians. The crazy King, Charles VI., was a mere puppet in the hands of the contending factions. Henry V., seeing that France was incapable of withstanding an invasion, seized the opportunity to renew the claims of England to the French crown. In August, 1413, he landed in Normandy, and two months later London was ringing her bells in rejoicing at the king's glorious victory at Agincourt. The popularity of the war and the splendour of the king's successes loosened the purse-strings of his subjects; but the money sorely needed at home was squandered abroad. In renewing the French war, Henry V. wantonly neglected the real needs of his people, and he died before he had accomplished the task he had set himself in France. Nevertheless, in 1422 the prospects of the House of Lancaster seemed fair. Henry VI. succeeded by a Parliamentary title in the third generation, and was backed, moreover, by the brilliant reputation of his father. In France the military position held by the English was good, and John of Bedford, the Regent, was hardly inferior to his brother in generalship. The prospects of the House of Lancaster were in reality bad. It was threatened at home by the dangers of a long minority (Henry VI. was but nine months old at his father's

death), while the chief strength of its position abroad lay in the essentially unnatural alliance with Burgundy.

In 1424 Bedford gained his great victory at Verneuil; but this success was cancelled, and the alliance with Burgundy endangered by Humphrey of Gloucester's reckless invasion of Hainault on a purely personal quarrel* in 1425.

The turning-point of the war was the relief of Orleans in 1429 by Joan of Arc. The new hope kindled by Joan in the hearts of her countrymen was equalled only by the fear and dismay spread through the ranks of the English, which the trial and execution of Joan as a witch, were not sufficient to dispel.

Gradually the English began to lose ground. The hopelessness of their cause after the wanton rejection of the terms offered at Arras† in 1435, followed by the reconciliation of Philip of Burgundy with Charles VII. of France, seems not to have been apparent to any save Bedford, who died soon after, broken-hearted, as it is said.

In the last period of the war (1435-1453) the French steadily won back the conquered lands. It was already evident that the English were tired of the war. The interest in the war was temporarily revived by the news of the siege of Calais by the Duke of Burgundy in 1435. And the appeal issued by the King for aid was eagerly responded to. The war degenerated into a series of plundering raids. The English were no longer fighting for a national cause, but for hope of personal profit. The leaders clamoured

* *Vide* No. 44.

† *Vide* No. 50.

for appointments of lieutenancies or governorships of towns or districts conquered, and the soldiers were eager for plunder.

The discreditable truce and marriage alliance of Margaret of Anjou with Henry VI., arranged in 1444 by Suffolk at the price of the cession to France of the provinces of Maine and Anjou startled the nation into realizing the state of affairs. Suffolk sought to protect himself by obtaining a vote of thanks from Parliament. The surrender of the provinces, after some delay, took place in 1447; soon after the disbanded garrisons, contrary to the truce, took and sacked the town of Fougères. The war broke out anew, and a long series of French successes followed, ending with the defeat of the English at Châtillon in 1453, where Talbot and his son perished. At the close of the war Calais alone remained in the hands of the English.

The history of the conduct of affairs at home is as gloomy as that of the wars in France. It is filled with the wearisome rivalries of the King's uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his great-uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, which ended only with the death of both parties in 1447.

On every side the evil results of the long war were apparent. Disorder and lawlessness were rife in every part of the country, and private warfare among the great nobles was common. John Talbot found time in the intervals of his French campaigns to besiege Lord Berkeley in Berkeley Castle.* King Henry VI. in his few years of personal rule showed his utter lack of ability. The court was crowded

* *Vide* Smyth, 'Lives of the Berkeleys.'

with self-seeking favourites, on whom the gentle, innocent king showered offices and gifts, and who rewarded him by keeping him in almost complete ignorance of the condition of his kingdom. The poverty of the royal exchequer was notorious.

' So poor a King was never seen,
Nor richer lords all biding,'

ran the popular ballad.

With the nation at large the court party (including the bishops) was extremely unpopular. This feeling found vent in the popular rising under Jack Cade,* and the impeachment of Suffolk before Parliament in 1450. The king, in trying to shield his favourite, unwittingly sent him to his fate. Suffolk was sentenced to five years' exile. On his way to France he was arrested and beheaded in the Channel.† The history of the civil wars which raged in England during the following thirty-five years is dealt with in Part II.

* *Vide* No. 73.

† *Vide* No. 72.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR, 1399-1453

'THE UNQUIET TIMES OF KING HENRY IV.,'

1399-1413

I

ADDRESS OF JOHN GOWER TO HENRY IV. ON HIS
ACCESSION.

Wright, 'Political Poems and Songs,' ii., p. 4.

[English,* c. 1399.]

The high God, of His justice alone
The right which longeth to thy regalie
Declared hath to stand in thy persone ;
And more than God may no man justifie.
Thy title is known upon thine auncestrie,
The Landes folk hath eke thy right affirmed
So stands thy reign of God and man confirmed.

The Poet alludes to the State of the Church.

The worldes cause is weightied over all
There been the warres ready to the fulle,
But Christ's owne cause in special†
There been the swordes and the speares dull.

* The spelling has been modernized somewhat, but not so as to interfere with the metre.

† Allusion is made to the need of a crusade against the Turks, who were steadily advancing westwards.

Upon three points stands Christes peace oppressed;
 First holy church is in herself divide,
 Which ought of reason first to be redressed,
 But yet so high a cause is not decided.
 And thus when humble patience is prided.

2

HENRY, DUKE OF LANCASTER, CHALLENGES THE CROWN.

[Parliament met on September 30. Richard was formally declared deposed and the throne vacant.]

September 30, 1399. 'Annales Ricardi II.,' p. 281. [Latin and English (modernized) contemporary, shortened.]

And immediately when it was declared that the kingdom of England with its appurtenances was vacant, the aforesaid Henry, Duke of Lancaster, rose from his place, challenged the said kingdom of England and the crown in his mother tongue in these words:* 'In the name of God, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm, this the crown with all the members and appurtenances as I that am descended by right line of the Blood, coming from the good lord King Henry the third, and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me with help of my kin and of my Friends to recover it: the which Realm was in point to be undone for default of Governance and undoing of the good Laws.' After which challenge and claim the lords spiritual and temporal and all the estates there present being

* Given in English in the text.

asked singly and in common, what they thought of that challenge and claim, the said estates with the whole people, without any difficulty or delay, agreed with one accord that the said duke should reign over them.

Henry's Answer to the Estates.

Sires, I thank God and you, Spiritual and Temporal, and all the estates of the Land; and do you to wit it is not my will that no man think it be way of Conquest I would disherit any man of his heritage, franchises or other rights, that he ought to have, ne put him out of that he has and has had by good laws and customs of this Realm, except those persons that have been against the good purpose and the common profit of the realm.

3 (I)

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST RICHARD'S APPELLANTS.*

October, 1399.

'Annales Henrici,' p. 303. [Latin contemporary.]

On Thursday [October 16] the knights of Parliament prayed that all the evil councillors of the late

* In 1388 Richard II. had made an unsuccessful attempt to free himself from the commission of regency. His intention being known, five 'lords appellants,' the Duke of Gloucester, Earls of Arundel, Nottingham, Warwick and Derby, appealed of treason five of Richard's councillors before Parliament. In 1397, by a *coup d'état*, the Duke of Gloucester, Earls of Arundel and Warwick, were arrested. Gloucester was sent to Calais, where he was secretly murdered. Eight new appellants came forward to impeach them for their acts of 1386-88. These were Edmund, Earl of Rutland (Duke of Albemarle); Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent; John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon;



HENRY CHALLENGES THE CROWN.

T. Fisher. Unicorn.

King Richard should be arrested. On the same day William Bagot was brought to trial; and he, when asked if he wished to stand by the bills which he had written and sent to the King, answered, yes; and he accused the Duke of Albemarle of having been party with himself to the evil counsel given to King Richard and to many evil deeds.

3 (2)

The Duke of Albemarle was charged with the Murder of the Duke of Gloucester.

‘Archæologia,’ xx., pp. 276, 277. [French contemporary, shortened.]

To which the Duke of Albemarle replied and excused himself of the murder aforesaid. And then the Lord Fitzwalter rose and said to the King, ‘Where the Duke of Aumerle excused himself of the death of Gloucester, I say he was the cause of his death.’ And he also appealed him of treason for that he was the cause. ‘And this I will prove with my body, and here is my pledge,’ and he cast his hood before him. And twenty other lords and barons also threw down their pledges in the same quarrel with Aumerle. Then the Duke of Aumerle said in reply to Fitzwalter, ‘I never assented to the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and you lie falsely: here is my pledge,’ and he cast his bonnet on the ground before him

John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (legitimated son of John of Gaunt); the Earl of Nottingham; John Montagu, Earl of Salisbury; Thomas, Lord le Despenser; and Sir William le Scrope.

against Fitzwalter, which pledges were delivered to the Constable and Marshal of England, and the parties put under arrest.

3 (3)

The Sentence on the Appellants.

November 3, 1399.

‘Annales Henrici Quarti.’ [Latin contemporary, shortened.]

The Lords in Parliament, with the assent of the King, adjudge and decree that the Dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, who are here present and were appellants, shall lose for them and their heirs the title of dukes which they now have, and the honours and dignities also belonging thereto. And that all castles, gifts, domains, and other possessions, liberties, goods, and chattels which they held of the possessions of those whom they had appealed, they shall lose entirely without favour or mercy; and that they should remain in the rank, title, and possession which they had before the aforesaid day [of the arrest of the Duke of Gloucester]; and that they nor any of them shall give badges, nor help a retinue of men except servants and officers necessary for managing their household, lands, and possessions, as is reasonable for their rank; and further they decree that if these aforesaid lords or any of them ever take up the cause of Richard, who was king and is deposed, in giving him advice, help, or comfort contrary to the said deposition made in Parliament touching the said king, that they shall be guilty of treason, and so shall be held and reputed.

After the sentence given against the lords a murmur

arose among the people, and the king and the archbishop and the Earl of Northumberland and the rest of the council were blamed [for it was said that] as though blinded by gifts they had saved the lives of men whom the people held most guilty and deserving to die.

4

THE CONSPIRACY OF THE DEGRADED LORDS.

January, 1400. English Chronicle, ed. Davies. [English modernized* and shortened, c. 1461-1471.]

And this same year [1400] King Harry held his Christmas at Windsor, and on the twelfth even came thither unto him the Duke of Aumerle,† and told him how that he and the Duke of Surrey‡ and the Duke of Exeter§, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Gloucester, and other more of their assent, were accorded to make a mumming to the King on Twelfth Day at night; and in that mumming they purposed to slay him.

[The King was warned of the plot] and rode in haste the same Twelfth Night to London to get him strength. But as soon as the said lords wist that their counsel was discovered and wraid [betrayed], they fled every man his way, and the Duke of Surrey

* In this and following extracts marked 'modernized,' archaic spelling of words only has been altered; forms of expression, construction, etc., are unchanged.

† Now the Earl of Rutland, son of the Duke of York. According to this chronicle, it was he who warned Henry of the plot.

‡ Now Earl of Kent.

§ Now Earl of Huntingdon.

and the Earl of Salisbury with their mayney fled unto the town of Cirencester, and said by the way that



RICHARD II. AND HIS PATRON SAINTS.

King Richard rode there.* The commons of the town would have arrested them, and they made great

* 'Archæologia,' xx., p. 210: 'And to make this the more credible they had brought a chaplain, who so exactly resembled

defence; but at last they were discomforted and taken by the said commons, and they smote off the lords' heads: and [they] were set on London Bridge and their quarters were sent to divers towns of England.

5

DEATH OF KING RICHARD II,

1400. 'Archæologia,' xx., p. 211. Metrical history of the deposition of Richard II. [French contemporary, shortened.]

Soon after they made good King Richard acquainted with the whole truth of this melancholy business, which was piteous for him to hear. Then he wept and said: 'Make ready, death, and assault me; no one can aid me more since I have lost my friends.' Then was the king so vexed at heart by this evil news, that he neither ate nor drank from that hour, and thus, as they say, it came to pass that he died.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 21.

And when that King Harry wist verily that he was dead, he let close and sere him in linen cloth all save the visage, and that was left open that men might see and know his person from all other, and so he was brought to London to Paul's* [from Pontefract], and then he was buried at Langley.

good King Richard in face and person, in form and speech, that everyone who saw him certified and declared that he was the old king. He was called Maudelein. They armed the afore-said as king, and set a rich crown upon his head.'

* *I.e.*, St. Paul's Cathedral.

6

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.

1401. The Statute de Hæretico Comburendo. *Vide*
Statute Book, 2^o Henry IV., c. 15. [Latin,
shortened.]

[Preamble.] Whereas although the Catholic faith hath been hitherto most devoutly observed, yet nevertheless divers false and perverse People of a certain New Sect, of the faith, and the Sacraments of the Church and the authority of the same most damnably thinking, and against the law of God and of the Church usurping the Office of Preaching, do perversely and maliciously in divers Places within the said Realm under the colour of dissembled holiness preach and teach these days openly and privily divers new doctrines and wicked heretical and erroneous opinions, and make unlawful Conventicles, they hold schools and make and write books and do wickedly instruct the people and daily commit other Enormities horrible to be heard in Subversion of the said Catholic faith, and in destruction of the Rights and Liberties of the said Church of England.

[The Commons therefore pray for remedy, and it is accordingly enacted :]

If any person upon the said wicked Preachings [etc.] be before the Diocesan convict, and do refuse duly to abjure, or after the abjuration pronounced, fall into relapse, so that according to the Holy Canons he ought to be left to the Secular Court, whereupon Credence shall be given to the Diocesan of the same Place or to his Comissaries in this behalf, then the Sheriff of the County, and the

Mayor and Sheriff (or Mayor and Bailiffs of the City, Town or Borough) shall be personally present in preferring such sentences, and they shall receive the same persons and every one of them and cause them to be burnt before the people in a high place, that such Punishment may strike fear to the minds of others whereby no such wicked Doctrine and heretical opinions nor their authors and Fautors [favourers] be sustained or otherwise suffered.

7

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF WILLIAM
SAWTREY.

[The trial began on April 30, 1399, before Henry, Bishop of Norwich, when Sawtrey publicly professed the following articles :]

1399-1401.

Wilkins' 'Concilia,' iii., p. 257. [Latin contemporary.]

He [Sawtrey] says that (1) he will not adore the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on the cross.

(2) He would rather adore a temporal king than a wooden cross.

(3) He would rather adore the bodies of the saints than the True Cross of Christ, even if the True Cross were before him.

(4) A deacon and any priest is more bound to preach the word of God than to say matins and other canonical hours.

(5) After the utterance of the words of consecration, the bread of the Body of Christ remains of the same nature as it was before, nor does it cease to be bread.

(6 and 7) He would rather adore a man who has truly confessed, and is contrite, than the cross on which Christ hung, and any angel of God.

[In May Sawtrey publicly renounced these opinions, but subsequently preached them again as chaplain of St. Osyth, Walbrook. On February 23, 1401, he was tried before Archbishop Arundel at St. Paul's Cathedral, and finally condemned as a relapsed heretic, and sentenced to degradation.]

‘*Annales Henrici Quarti*,’ p. 336.
[Latin contemporary.]

To whom [*i.e.*, the Archbishop] he [Sawtrey] with exceeding pride replied. ‘Now,’ he said, ‘you have wreaked your malice, what further hurt can you do me?’ ‘I commit you to secular trial,’ answered the Archbishop; and he said to the Knight Marshal: ‘Receive him to punish according to your law.’ And he was led to Smithfield, and there was burnt before many onlookers.

8 (I)

THE REBELLION OF THE WELSH UNDER OWEN GLENOWER.

1400-1410. Capgrave, ‘*Chronicle of England*,’ p. 277.
[English modernized, *c.* 1460.]

In this year [1400] began the rebellion of Wales against the King, under a captain cleped Owen Glendower, which Owen was first a prentice at Court,* and then a squire of the king's house. But for a discord that fell betwixt him and Sir Reginald Grey de Ruthyn for certain land, first he fought with the

* *I.e.*, at one of the Inns of Court.

tenants of the same lord; and because the king pursued him for breaking of the peace, he fled into Wales. And when the king followed him thither, he fled into the hills of Snowdon, and the king's labour was frustrate.

8 (2)

LETTER FROM DAVID AP GRIFFITH TO LORD GREY
DE RUTHYN, DATED JUNE 9, 1400.

June, 1400.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 2nd series,
i., p. 2. [English modernized.]

And it was told me that ye be in purpose for to make your men burn and slay in whatsoever country that I be and am seized in. Without doubt as many men that ye slay, and as many housen that ye burn for my sake, as many will I burn and slay for your sake, and doubt not but I will have both bread and ale of the best that is in your lordship.

[To this threat Lord Grey replied in mocking verse.]

'Royal and Historical Letters of
Henry IV.,' p. 35.

But we hope we shall do thee a privy thing :
A rope, a ladder and a ring,
High on gallows for to hang,
And thus shall be your ending ;
And He that made thee be near to helping,
And we, on our behalf, shall be well willing,
For thy letter 's knowledging.

8 (3)

1402. Capgrave, 'Chronicle of England,' p. 279.

In this same time Owen Glendower, with a multitude of Welshmen, entered into Herefordshire, killing and burning as he was used. And against him rode Edmund Mortimer, with all the strength of the country; but by treason Edmund was taken,* and his part overthrown. . . . Soon after the Assumption of our Lady [August 15] the king rode into Wales, for to venge him on his enemy Glendower; and there, for diversity of rain and cold and snow, his host was nigh lost. In the vigil of Nativity [September 7] of our Lady, the king had pitched his tent in a fair plain: there blew suddenly so much wind and so impetuous, with a great rain, that the king's tent was felled, and a spear cast so violently that, and the king had not been armed, he had been dead of the stroke. There were many supposed that this was done by necromancy and by compelling of spirits.

8 (4)

THE FRENCH SEND AID TO OWEN GLENDOWER.†

1404. Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. iv.,
bk. 6, ch. xi. [French, c. 1455.]

About this time the Marshal of France and the Master of the Archers, by command of King Charles

* *Vide* 'Annales Henrici IV.,' p. 341: 'And there were some who affirmed that Edmund was not taken unwillingly, but by agreement and premeditated treachery.'

† In 1401 the French took the part of the Scots, and plundered English merchant ships in the Channel (*vide* Royal and Historical Letters of Henry IV., p. 215). Acts of piracy were frequent. In 1402 French pirates landed at Plymouth and burnt the town (*vide* Capgrave, 'Chronicle,' p. 284).



GREAT SEAL OF OWEN GLENDOWER
WHEN PRINCE OF WALES.

(Obverse.)

and at his expense, assembled 12,000 combatants. And they came to Brest in Brittany to go to aid the Welsh; and when they had the desired wind, they made sail and went to land at Haverfordwest, in England, where they killed all the inhabitants whom they found there, and laid waste the country around. Afterwards they went to the castle of the said place, Haverford, where were the Earl of Arundel and many other men of war; and when they had burned the outskirts of the said castle, they went destroying all along their road with fire and sword, till they came to Tenby, where they found some great lords of the country of



GREAT SEAL OF OWEN GLENDOWER
WHEN PRINCE OF WALES.

(Reverse.)

Wales, with 12,000 combatants who were awaiting them.

8 (5)

AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR EDMUND MORTIMER AND OWEN GLENDOWER.

December, 1405.

Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 2nd series, i., pp. 24-27. Letter from Mortimer to his tenantry, dated December 13, 1405. [French.]

Very dear and well beloved, I greet you well and make known to you that Owen Glendower has raised a quarrel, which is such that, if King Richard be alive, to restore to him his crown, and if not, my honoured nephew, who is right heir of the said crown to be King of England, and that the said Owen shall have his right in Wales. And I, seeing and considering that the said quarrel is good and reasonable, have assented to be in the said quarrel, and to aid and maintain it, and by the grace of God to a good end. Amen. I ardently hope that you will aid me to bring this quarrel to a successful issue.

[Signed] ESMON MORTEMER.

9

THE BATTLE OF HOMILDON HILL.

September 14, 1402.

'Annales Henrici,' p. 344. [Latin contemporary.]

At the same time the Scots, taking courage in the absence of the King [who was then engaged in war in Wales], in great array invaded the eastern parts of Northumberland under Earl Douglas. The Earl

of Northumberland,* having collected a large army, privily allowed the Scots to advance a considerable distance ravaging, as is their wont, thinking to meet them as they returned to their country, and stand in their path, so that they must needs fight or fly. Nor did this plan fail. For when the Scots learned that the Earl and his son, Henry Percy, and the Earl of Dunbar (who had abandoned the Scots and taken the oath to the King of England) were advancing with an armed force, they attempted to retreat in haste, fearing lest the English should defeat or capture them. But, as they avoided Scylla, they fell on Charybdis, for those whom they thought to have escaped, confronted them. They had therefore to stay and prepare for a fight. They took a hill near to the place where our [*i.e.*, Northumberland's] men were stationed. Our men, seeing this, took another hill, and so a valley lay between the two hosts. Meanwhile a band of 500 archers, who had gone forth that night to forage, returned; and when they saw the two battles drawn upon the hills, they suddenly determined to attack, and they sent a number of their archers to shoot against the Scottish lines and entice them to descend. Some of the Scots came out and attacked our men, but were forced to fly by our superior numbers, though the Scottish archers were not lacking in ferocity in their attack. The Earl Douglas, seeing his men in flight, not wishing to appear a coward, seized a lance and rushed down the hill with a band of his followers, and attempted to charge our archers. These then retreated, shooting

* For the wealth and offices held by the Earl of Northumberland and his son, *vide* Ramsey, 'York and Lancaster,' i., p. 54.

the while so heavy a volley that their arrows pierced the armour and broke the swords and lances of the enemy. The Douglas himself was wounded five times despite the strength and magnificence of his armour. The rest of the Scots who had not yet descended from the hill fled; some were slain by the archers, some captured, and others put to death. Among the prisoners was the Earl Douglas.

10

HENRY IV. FORBIDS THE RANSOMING OF PRISONERS
TAKEN AT HOMILDON.*September 2.*Rymer's 'Fœdera,' viii. 278. [Latin
contemporary.]

*The King to his most dear cousin Henry de Percy,
Earl of Northumberland and Warden of the West
Marches, towards Scotland.*

Since of late you and our beloved and loyal cousin Henry de Percy your son, George of Dunbar, Earl of the Marches of Scotland, your ally, and other loyal persons, met them [the Scots] at Homildon, near Wooler in Northumberland, taking prisoner many and slaying many, as we are certainly informed by your letters: wherefore with humble spirit we give all thanks to God; for certain urgent causes moving us at this present, we order you and strictly injoin that you do not place at finance, or ransom nor let out of your charge on any oath whatsoever or other security, any Scotsman or other (whatever be his dignity, rank, or race) there captured and now in your custody, until you have order from us.

11

HOTSPUR REFUSES TO OBEY THIS ORDER.

Hardyng, 'Rhymed Chronicle,' p. 360.
[English, *c.* 1465.]

But sir Henry his son, then would not bring
His prisoners in no wise to the king.
But the king he prayed for Mortimer
That ransomed might [he been] with his friends so
He [the king] said him nay, for he was taken
prisoner
By his consent and treason to his foe.
The king blamed him for his prisoner
Th' earl Douglas for cause he was not there.

12

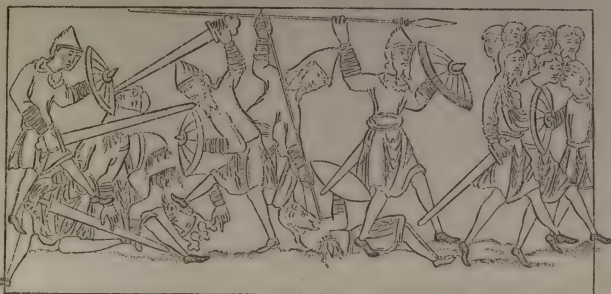
THE QUARREL WITH THE PERCIES—BATTLE OF
SHREWSBURY.

1402-1403. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 27 *et seq.*
[English modernized, *c.* 1461-1471.]

The Earl of Northumberland prayed the king to pay his money due unto him for keeping of the marches of Scotland,* and said: 'My son and I have spent our good in keeping of the said marches.' The king answered: 'I have no money, nor none thou shalt have.' The earl said: 'When ye came

* *Vide* letter written by Northumberland to Henry IV., June 26, 1403 (Nicolas, 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' i., p. 204): 'If payment be not shortly ordered, it is most likely that the good name of the knighthood of your kingdom will be jeopardised, besides honour and disgrace to me and my son who are your loyal lieges. At this day we are owed, as it can plainly be shown, £20,000 and more. [Signed] your Mathathias, who begs you to take his state and toil to heart for this necessity.'

into this land ye made promise for to be ruled by our counsel, and ye take yearly much good of the realm and pay nought, and so ye wrath your commons; God send you counsel!' Then came the earl's son, Sir Harry Percy, that had wedded the aforesaid Edmund's* sister that was prisoner in Wales, praying the king that he would suffer that the said Edmund's ransom might be paid of his own. The



BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY.

king said that with the money of his realm, he would not fortify his enemies against him. Sir Henry Percy said: 'Shall a man spend his good, and put himself in peril for you and your realm, and ye will not help him in his need?' The king was wroth, and said to him: 'Thou art a traitor! Wilt thou that I should succour mine enemies and enemies of the realm?' Sir Henry Percy said: 'Traitor am I none, but a true man, and as a true man I speak.' The king drew to him his dagger, and Sir Henry Percy said to the king: 'Not here, but in the field.'

* Sir Edmund Mortimer, captured by Owen Glendower.
Vide Ext., No. 8 (3).

And so he went his way. And he and his uncle Sir Thomas Percy, whom King Richard had made Earl of Worcester, gathered a great host in the North Country, and said they must fight against the Scots, and went into Chestershire, and took with them many Cheshire men, and sent to Owen Glendower for to come and help him; but Owen was afraid of treason and came not, but many of the Welshmen came to them, and so they came to Lichfield. And the said Sir Henry Percy and all his men wore and were arrayed in the livery of the harts, the which was King Richard's livery. The king also gathered another host and met with him beside Shrewsbury, and asked of him the cause of his coming, to whom Percy answered and said: 'We brought you in against King Richard, and now thou rulest worse than did he. Thou spoilest yearly the realm with taxes and tallages, thou payest no man, thou holdest no house,* thou art not heir of the realm, and therefore, as I have hurt the realm by bringing in of thee, I will help to reform it.†

* * * * *

Then was there a strong and an hard battle, and many were slain on both sides; and when Sir Henry Percy saw his men fast slain, he pressed into the battle with thirty men and made a lane in the middle of the host, till he came to the king's banner, and there he slew the Earl of Stafford, Sir Thomas Blount, and others; and at last he was beset about and slain, and anon his host was parbled [scattered]

* *I.e.*, thou keepest no household.

† *Vide* Shakespeare, 'Richard II.,' Act V., Scene i., line 55 *et seq.*

and fled. And Sir Harry Percy's head was smitten off and set up at York, lest his men would have said that he had been alive. And Sir Thomas Percy, his uncle, was taken and beheaded at Shrewsbury, and his head set on London Bridge.*

13 (I)

CONSPIRACY OF SCROPE, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND LORD MOWBRAY.

February, 1405. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 31.
[English modernized, c. 1461-1471.]

And the cause† of the said rising was this: The Earl's son of Nottingham and his heir, the Lord Mowbray, complained to the Archbishop of York,‡ and said that his ancestors were ever wont of right to be Marshals of England, and by that they held their land: and notwithstanding that, the king had given the said land with the office to the Earl of Westmoreland. The archbishop communed of this with wise men of counsel, and afterward he made a sermon in the church of York, and exhorted and stirred the people to be assistant and helping to the correction and amendment of the mischiefs and mis-

* *Vide* Devon, 'Issues of the Exchequer,' vol. ii., p. 294. An entry of the payment of £5 10s. to messengers and couriers sent to all and singular the counties of England for proclamations to be made in the said counties of the death of Henry Percy, together with other rebels slain in the battle fought near Shrewsbury, and of the capture of Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, in the said battle.

† *Vide* 'Articuli Nobilium,' in Gascoigne's 'Liber Veritatis,' pp. 229-231; also Wharton, 'Anglia Sacra,' ii., p. 365.

‡ *Vide* Shakespeare, '2 Henry IV.,' Act I., Scene i., *incipit* line 200; also '2 Henry IV.,' Act IV., Scenes i. and ii.

governances of the realm, having in consideration the great poverty of the merchants in whom was wont to be the substance of the riches of all the land: and also the great raising of taxes and tallages and customs under colour of borrowing: and also that due payment be made for the king's victuals, and that the clergy and the common people were not vexed nor charged with importable charges of taxes and tallages as they had long time been: and that the heirs of noble men and of lords of the land might be restored to their inheritance wholly, every man after his degree and birth: and also that such covetous men as were of the king's Council that took away and turned to their own use such goods as were ordained to the common help of the land, and make themselves rich withal, be removed and put away from the king. These articles and many other the archbishop made be written in English, and were set on the gates of the city, and sent to the curates of the towns about for to be preached openly. And the said archbishop and the Lord Mowbray gathered a great host and went toward the Earl of Westmoreland: and the earl came against them with another host, sent from the king to take them, and when they were nigh together the earl prayed the archbishop and the Lord Mowbray, that they might speak together and treat of peace: and they went to the earl; and the earl had there bottles with wine, and made them drink, and whilst the said earl fained himself to treat, a knight of his rode to the archbishop's host and said that the lords were accorded, and in token thereof they drank together, and therefore the archbishop commanded every man

for to go home again, 'for he shall this night sup with the earl.' The archbishop's men were afraid, for there was a little hill between the archbishop and them, so that they might neither see him nor the earl: nevertheless they weened it had been true, that the knight said, and went their way and were disparbled [dispersed]: and the knight returned again to his company; and anon the earl and he, with their host, fell upon the archbishop and Lord Mowbray and took them, and led them to the King to Pountfret [Pontefract]. After this the king came to York, and the citizens of the city came out bare-foot and ungirt, with halters about their necks, and fell down before the king asking mercy and grace because they arose with the archbishop.

[The king ordered the execution of Scrope and other leaders.]

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Arundel,* hearing all this, came in haste to the king, and to him said: 'Sire, I am your ghostly father, and the second person of the realm, and ye should accept no man's counsel sooner than mine, if it be good. I counsel you that if the Archbishop of York have trespassed so much against you, as it is said, reserve him to the Pope's judgment, and he will so ordain that ye shall be pleased: and if ye will not so, I counsel let him be reserved to the judgment of the Parliament, and keep your hands undefiled from his blood.' The king said: 'I may not for the rumour of the people.' Then were the Archbishop of York and the Lord

* Sir William Gascoigne, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, refused to sit in judgment on the Archbishop. *Vide* Gascoigne, 'Liber Veritatis,' p. 225.

Mowbray condemned unto death, and Sir William Plumpton with them, and were beheaded without the city of York. And when the archbishop should die, he said: 'Lo! I shall die for the laws and good rule of England.'

13 (2)

King Henry's Illness.

1405. Capgrave, 'Chronicle,' p. 291. [English modernized, *c.* 1460.]

The king after that time* lost the beauty of his face. For, as the common opinion went, from that time on to his death he was a leper, and ever fouler and fouler.

14

CAPTURE OF PRINCE JAMES OF SCOTLAND.†

March, 1406. Capgrave, 'Chronicle of England,' p. 293. [English modernized, *c.* 1460.]

In this year [1406] the Scots led the king's son of Scotland into France to learn that tongue and eke courtesy. And men of Cley in Northfolk took the ship in which was this child, with a Bishop and the Earl of Orkney, and led him to London to the king.

* *I.e.*, After the execution of Scrope.

† The Scots complained that the capture of Prince James was an infringement of the truce then existing between England and Scotland. *Vide* Wynton, the 'Chronykal of Scotland,' vol. iii. (English, *c.* 1420):

'It is off Inglis natioune
The common kend conditione
Off Trewis [truce] the wertew [virtue] to forgett
Quhen [when] thai will thaim for wynnyng set
And rekles of gud faith to be
Quhare [where] thai can thare advantage see.'

15

FOREIGN POLICY—HENRY IV. SENDS AID TO THE
DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

1411. Capgrave, 'Chronicle of England,' p. 299.
[English modernized, c. 1460.]

In this year [1411] began a great debate betwixt the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke Aurelianensis [of Orleans], for because the first had killed the father of the second. With the Duke Aurelianensis was the King of Naverne [Navarre] and Arragon, and Dukes of Berry and Brittany, with all Gascony and Guienne, the Earls of Huys [Eu] and Armenak [Armagnac], with many other. With the Duke of Burgundy was the King of France; and for he saw his party was not strong, he sent ambassadors to the King of England that he should help, promising him his daughter to be wedded to the prince, and much gold and treasure with her.

And soon after the king sent this meynée to him with lords, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Kyme,* the Lord Cobham, Sir John Oldcastle, with many men-of-arms and archers. They were received by the Duke of Burgundy full worshipfully, and waged sufficiently.†

* Sir Gilbert Umphraville.

† *Vide* English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 36: 'And they met with the Duke of Orleans at Senclowe [St. Cloud] beside Paris; and there our men discomforted and slew many of his men, and the Duke fled, and thus our men had the victory and came home again with great gifts.'



HENRY IV.

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16

HENRY IV. SENDS AID TO THE ORLEANIST PARTY.

1412.

Capgrave, 'Chronicle of England, p. 301.

[English modernized, c. 1460.]

In the thirteenth year of this king, this Duke Aurelianensis, seeing this fray made by Englishmen

had astonished all his host, wrote unto the King of England, both he and his friends in this manner :

‘ We notify to all men that we send our special legates to treat and to accord with that worshipful Prince Harry, by the grace of God King of England, and with all his sons, of the restitution and the real induction of the Duchy of Guienne, which longeth to him of heritage as it is said, which restitution shall be made by us.’

Soon after, in the feast of the Assumption of our Lady [August 15], the king sent his son Thomas, Duke of Clarence, and Edward, Duke of York, Thomas, Earl of Dorset, with much strength, unto the Duke Aurelianensis against the Duke of Burgundy ; and yet was not the Earl of Arundel and his retinue come home. And of this sudden change men made much marvel, that in so short a time the king should favour to contraries.

17

THE QUARREL BETWEEN HENRY IV. AND HENRY,
PRINCE OF WALES.

1412.

Hardying, ‘ Chronicle,’ p. 369.

[English, c. 1455.]

The king discharged the prince fro his counsaile
[council]

And set my lord, sir Thomas, in his stede [stead],
Chief of counsaile for the king’s more avail :

For which the prince of wrath and wilfulhede [wilful-
ness],

Again him made debate and frowardhede [froward-
ness]

With whom the king took and helde the field,
To time the prince unto the king him yield.

18

BEAUFORT, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, SUGGESTS
HENRY'S IV.'S RESIGNATION IN FAVOUR OF
PRINCE HENRY.*

1412.

[English modernized, 1440.]

My said Lord of Winchester said unto King Henry V., then being Prince, that the king his father so visited with sickness was not personable nor disposed to common conversation and governance of the people, and for so much counselled him to take the crown and governance of this land on him.†

19

PROPOSAL MADE BY THE UNLEARNED PARLIAMENT
TO SEIZE THE TEMPORALITIES OF THE CHURCH.

October, 1404.

Walsingham, ii., p. 265. [Latin contemporary.]

At this time the king, being in need of money, assembled the lords of the realm to a Parliament to be held at Coventry about the time of the feast of St. Faith, the Virgin [Oct. 6], in spite of the fact that a Parliament had already been held at Westminster in the Lent of the same year. He sent writs to the Sheriffs, charging them that they should not elect for the counties any knights who were lawyers or apprentices to the law,‡ but that such should be sent for this business as were entirely ignorant of the laws and their practice. Thus it was done. When

* Charges brought against Beaufort by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester in 1440: Arnold's 'Chronicle,' p. 288.

† *Vide* Beaufort's answer, p. 293.

‡ *Cf.* Rot. Parl., ii. 310; Statute Book, i. 394.

they had assembled together and the needs of the king had been declared to them on the part of the king, namely, that the Scots and Welsh were in revolt, and the Bretons, Flemings, and French hostile, the knights could suggest no other remedy than the confiscation throughout the kingdom of Christ's patrimony, that is to say, that the Church generally should be deprived of her temporalities. On this a great altercation arose between clergy and laymen; the knights declared that they had often gone forth for the king, and with him against his rebels and foes; not only had they lavishly spent their goods, but had exposed their persons to many dangers and toils, while the clergy sat indolently at home and aided the king in no way.*

20

THE COMMONS GAIN THE RIGHT OF INITIATING
MONEY GRANTS.

1407.

Rot. Parl., iii., p. 611. [French contemporary, shortened.]

[On December 2, 1407, the Commons presented a petition to the King and Lords in Parliament as follows:]

Let it be remembered that on Monday, the 21st day of November, the King, our Sovereign Lord, being in council chamber in Gloucester Abbey, in the presence of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at this

* Again in 1410. *Vide* Walsingham, ii. 283: 'The Commons humbly show that our King can have from the temporal goods belonging to and vainly wasted by the bishops, abbots and priors, 15 earls, 15,000 knights, 6,200 esquires, and 100 hospitals more than there now are, well and faithfully endowed.' *Vide* Shakespeare, 'Henry V.,' Act I., Scene i.

present Parliament, counsel was had amongst them of the state of the kingdom and the defence of the same against the malice of enemies, who were preparing on all sides to injure the said kingdom and the loyal subjects of the same, and [it was advised] that it would be impossible to ward off this malice unless our Sovereign Lord the King receive in this present Parliament some considerable aid and subsidy. Whereon the said Lords were asked what aid would be sufficient and needful for this matter. To which the Lords replied severally that no less an aid would suffice than a tenth and a half from the cities and boroughs, and a fifteenth and a half from other laymen. When this was reported to the Commons they were much disturbed, saying and affirming that it was greatly to the prejudice and derogation of their liberties. And since the King has heard this and is unwilling that anything should be done now or hereafter which would in any way infringe the liberty of the estate on whose behalf they have come to Parliament, nor against the liberties of the said Lords, he wills, grants, and declares by the advice and assent of the said Lords as follows: 'This is to declare that it is permitted to the Lords to commune among themselves in this present Parliament, and in every one held hereafter, in the absence of the King, on the state of the kingdom and the remedy needful. Likewise it is permitted to the Commons to commune on the state and remedy as above. Provided always that the Lords on their part, and the Commons on theirs, do not report to our said Lord the King any grant made by the Commons with the assent of the Lords before that the said Lords and

Commons are of one mind and accord in that matter, and then in the manner and form accustomed—that is to say, by the mouth of the Speaker of the Commons for the time being.’

21

THE POSITION OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER AT
THE DEATH OF HENRY IV.

1413. Henry IV. to Prince Henry. Shakespeare,
‘2 Henry IV.,’ Act IV., Scene v., line 184.

God knows, my son,
By what by-paths and indirect crook’d ways
I met this crown, and I myself know well
How troublesome it sat upon my head.
To thee it shall descend with better quiet,
Better opinion, better confirmation ;
For all the soil of the achievement goes
With me into the earth. It seemed in me
But as an honour snatched with boisterous hand ;
And I had many living to upbraid
My gain of it by their assistances,
Which daily grew to quarrel and to bloodshed,
Wounding supposed peace : all these bold fears
Thou see’st with peril I have answered ;
For all my reign hath been but as a scene
Acting that argument.

* * * * *

Therefore, my Harry,
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
With foreign quarrels ; that action hence borne
out
May waste the memory of the former days,

'THE VICTORIOUS ACTS OF KING HENRY V.,'
1413-1422.

22

EMBASSY FROM THE KING OF FRANCE—THE FRENCH
REPLY TO THE ENGLISH DEMANDS.

June, 1414.

Jean Juvenal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI.,' ed. Buchon, p. 502.
[French, before 1473, shortened.]

And there were sent the Archbishop of Bourges, surnamed Bourretier, a very worthy man and a good clerk, (and others). Their chief mission was to treat of the demands made by the English, and of the concessions in Guienne, which the King [of France] offered liberally enough. The English were not content with these, and said and maintained that they had a right to the duchies of Normandy and of Guienne, and the counties of Anjou and Poitou, Maine, Touraine and Ponthieu, seeing that they had direct claim to the crown of France. And the King of England said that he was the true King of France, and that he would conquer the kingdom. [The Archbishop begged leave to answer him,] and said quite plainly to him: 'Sire, the King of France our Sovereign Lord is the true King of France, nor have you any right to those things which you claim, nor to the kingdom of England; but it belongs to the true heirs of the late King Richard, nor can our Sovereign Lord safely treat with you.'

King Henry was as displeased as he was astonished at these words, and answered back to them very haughtily, and said that they might go, and he would

follow at their heels; and he gave them safe conduct. Some of the Frenchmen inquired secretly if there were any alliance between the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, and found that there was very close and secret agreement.*

23

THE DAUPHIN'S MESSAGE TO HENRY V.

Verses from 'The Battle of Agincourt,' by John Lydgate. [English contemporary.]

And then answered the Dolphin bold
 To our bassatours† soon again,
 'Me think your king is nought old
 No werrys‡ for to maintain.

Greet well your king,' he said, 'so young
 That is both gentle and smalle;
 A ton of tennis balls I shall him sende
 For to play him with alle.'

'Adieu, sir,' said our lordes alle,
 For there they wold no longer lende;§
 They token their leave, both great and smalle,
 And home to Ingelond they gan wende.

And thenne they sette the tale on ende
 All that the Dolfyn to them gon say:
 'I shall him thank then,' said our king,
 'By the grace of God, if that I may.'

* Secret treaty was made with Burgundy, May 23, 1414.

† Ambassadors.

‡ Wars.

§ Linger.

The king of France, that is so old,
 Unto our king he sent on high,
 And prayed truce that he would hold
 For the love of Saint Mary.

‘Our Charles of France greet well or ye wende,
 The Dolphin proud withinne his walle,
 Such tennis balles I shall him sende
 As shall tear the roof all off his halle.’

24 (I)

CONSPIRACY OF SCROPE, CAMBRIDGE AND GRAY.*

July 20, 1415. Cotton MSS., Claudius, A. viii. [English
 modernized contemporary.]

And then fell there a great disease and a foul mischief, for there were three lords, which that the king trust much on, and through false covetise [covetousness] they had purposed and imagined ye king's death, and thought to have slain him and all his brethren or he had take the sea: which were named thus, Sir Richard, Earl of Cambridge, brother to the Duke of York; the second was the Lord Scrope, Treasurer of England; the third was Sir Thomas Gray, Knight of the north country: and these lords aforesaid for lucre of money had made promise to the Frenchmen for to have slain King Henry. And for to have done this they received of the Frenchmen a million of gold, and that was proved openly. And for this false treason they were all three judged unto death.

* *Vide* Shakespeare, ‘Henry V.,’ Act II., Scene ii.

24 (2)

EXTRACT FROM A POEM ON THE 'BATTLE OF
HARFLET.'

Hearne's 'Elmham,' p. 361. [English
modernized contemporary.]

Lords of this land, our king gan sell,
For a million of gold, as I hear say.
The Earl of March, the sooth to say
That is gracious in all degree
He warned the king, that is no nay
How he was sold certainly.
'Sir,' he saide, 'there is such a man
This day thinks you to betray.'
'Gramercy, Cousin,' said our king so free,
'Mine own true knight, by God veray.'
They that had him sold, they sang, wel a way!
There lives they lost full soon anon.

25

HENRY V.'S NAVY.

'The Libel of English Policy,' ed. Wright;
'Political Poems,' vol. ii., p. 199. [English,
c. 1437.]

Henry the fifth, what was his purposing*
When at Hampton, he made the great dromons†
Which passed other great ships of all the commons
The *Trinité*, the *Grace-Dieu*, the *Holy-Goste*,
And other more which as now be lost

* The author contrasts with this the condition of the navy
at the time of writing, c. 1437 :

'Where be our ships? Where be our swords become?
Our enemies bid for the ship set a sheep.
Alas our rule halteth; hit is benome:' [taken away].

† War-ships.

What hope ye was the king's great intent
 Of the ships, and what in mind he meant ?
 It was not else, but that he cast to be
 Lord round about environ of the sea.

26

THE SIEGE OF HARFLEUR.

August, 1415.

Cotton MSS., Claudius, A. viii., in
 Nicholas, 'Agincourt,' p. 213.
 [English modernized contem-
 porary.]

And so went him forth to Harflete and besieged the town all about, by land and eke by water, and sent to the captain of the town and charged him for to deliver the town. And the captain said that he would none deliver him, nor none he would to him yield, but bad him done his best. And then our king laid his ordinance unto the town, that is for to say guns, engines, tappgetes,* and shot and cast to the walls and eke unto the town, and cast down both towers and town, and laid them unto the ground. And there he played at tennis with his hard gun stones. And on the morrow the King did cry at every gate of the town that every man should be ready on the morrow early to make assault unto the town. And William Bouchire and John Graunt, with twelve other worthy burgesses, comen to the King and besought him of his royal princehood and power to withdraw his malice and destruction that he did unto them, and besought him of eight days' respite and truce if any rescue might come unto them, and

* An engine for casting stones and other projectiles.

else to yield up the town unto him with all their goods. And the king sent forth the captain and



HENRY V.

(Engraved by Greatbach from the portrait at Windsor.)

kept the remnant with him. And the Lord Gaucorte, that was captain of the town, went forth to Rouen in all haste unto the Dauphin for help and

succour.* But there was none nor no man of rescue, for the Dauphin would not abide. And thus this captain came again unto the king and yielded up the town and delivered him the keys; and then he [the king] call his uncle, the Earl of Dorset, and made him captain of the town of Harflete.

27 (I)

THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

The March to Calais.

October, 1415.

'Gesta Henrici V.,' p. 52. [Latin contemporary, shortened.]

The king having made arrangements for the custody of the town [Harfleur] proposed to pursue his march through the duchy of Normandy towards his town of Calais, said to be more than 100 miles distant. He caused the sick to be separated from the able-bodied, and permitted them to return to England, being about 5,000, not counting those who had died, or had been appointed for the custody of the town [of Harfleur] and those who had deserted their king and returned secretly to England; so that of the residue of the army there remained fit for battle not above 900 lances and 5,000 archers. And commanding the army to furnish themselves with provisions for eight days on Tuesday before the feast of St. Denys [October 8] he began his march.

[The English army, after encountering some opposition, reached Abbeville on October 13.]

* According to Monstrelet, the besieged sent to the King of France who was at Vernon-sur-Seine.

We hoped on the following day to cross the river Somme, but were suddenly informed by our scouts that the bridges and causeways were broken down, and that a great body of the French army was assembled on the opposite bank to oppose our crossing.

[Henry had therefore to divert his march and seek a crossing higher up the river. A ford was found on October '18 near Nesle.]

27 (2)

The Crossing of the Somme.

Jean le Fevre, Sire de St Remy, 'Chronique,' ch. lxx.

[French contemporary.]

And to speak of the passage of the King of England, true it is, that he and all his army dismounted from their horses, and, coming to the river, began to destroy houses and to take ladders, doors, and windows, to construct a bridge, and from eight o'clock in the morning until the close of the day the English never ceased to work at the said passage, and thus they passed without horses. When a sufficient number had crossed, a standard was sent over, and when the advanced guard had all crossed on foot the horses were taken across. Then the rearguard passed, and it was night before all the army had passed over. Notwithstanding the English marched on, and the King lodged not far from Athies, near which was the French army.

27 (3)

October, 1415.

Monstrelet, 'Chroniques,' l. i., ch. cliii.

[French contemporary.]

Meanwhile the King of France and the Duke of Aquitaine came to Rouen, where on October 20 it

was decided in a council that a battle should be fought against the King of England and his host. And immediately the king sent pressing orders to his Constable and to his other officers, that they should assemble together with all the forces they could muster, and fight against the King of England and his men. And soon after it was hastily proclaimed throughout France that all nobles accustomed to bear arms, and eager for honour, should journey night and day to join the Constable, wherever he might be.

27 (4)

King Henry's Address to the Army.

1415.

'Gesta Henrici,' p. 47. [Latin contemporary.]

Amongst other speeches which I noticed was this, a certain Lord Walter Hungerford, knight, was regretting in the King's presence that he had not, in addition to the small retinue which he had there, ten thousand of the best English archers, who would be desirous of being with him. When the King said, 'Thou speakest foolishly, for by the God of heaven, on whose grace I have relied, and in whom I have a firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, increase my number by one, for those whom I have are the people of God, whom He thinks me worthy to have at this time. Dost thou not believe the Almighty with these His humble few is able to conquer the haughty opposition of the French, who pride themselves on their numbers and their own strength?'

* Cf. Shakespeare, 'Henry V.,' Act IV., Scene iii.

27 (5)

*The battle of Agincourt.**October 24, 1415.*

Jean le Fevre, Sieur de St. Remy,
 'Chronique,' ch. lxxi. [French
 contemporary, shortened.]

As no hope of peace remained, each side prepared for battle; every English archer was protected by a stake, sharp at both ends, which he fixed in the ground before him. The French had drawn up their lines between two small woods, the one close to Agincourt, and the other to Tramecourt. The ground was narrow and very advantageous for the English, and the contrary for the French, for the latter had been all the night on horseback in the rain, and pages and valets and others, in walking their horses, had broken up the ground, which was soft, and in which the horses sunk in such a manner that it was with great difficulty they could get up again. Besides, the French were so loaded with armour that they could not move. First, they were armed in long coats of steel, reaching to their knees, and very heavy, below which was armour for their legs, and above, white harness and basinet* with camails,† and so heavy was their armour that, together with the softness of the ground, they could with difficulty lift their weapons. The greater part [of the English archers] were without armour, wearing doublets, their hose loosened, and having hatchets and axes, or long swords hanging from their girdles, and some had

* Headpieces.

† Pieces of chain armour attached to the basinet to protect the neck and shoulders.

bare feet; some wore 'humettes,' or caps of boiled leather, or of wicker-work crossed with iron.

Jean le Fevre, 'Chronique,' ch. lxxxi.

The King of England appointed an old knight, called Sir Thomas Erpingham, to draw up, unobserved, the archers and place them in the front, and he exhorted all on the part of the king to fight valiantly. Then he rode before the archers, and after arraying them, he threw a bâton, and then dismounted and placed himself in the king's battalion, who had also dismounted. Then the English suddenly began to march, uttering a very loud cry, which much astonished the French. Then the French, seeing the English coming towards them, placed themselves in order of battle, each under his banner, and wearing his bacinet. The trumpets and clarions of the English in their advance made a great noise; the French began to bend their heads, especially those who had no shelter from the English archers, who shot their arrows so fiercely that none dared approach them. But before the two armies met, many of the French were severely wounded by the English arrows,* and as they approached nearer, the French so pressed on each other that they could not lift their arms to attack their enemies.

[An attempt was made to attack the English archers in the flank by a body of French cavalry.]

The greater part of them, with all their horses, fearing the arrows, fell back on to the French advanced

* 'Gesta Henrici': † And when the arrows were exhausted, seizing up axes, poles, swords, and sharp spears, which were lying near, they felled and scattered and stabbed the enemy.'

guard, in which they caused great confusion, breaking and exposing it in many places, and making them retire to new-sown ground, for their horses were so



BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

wounded by arrows that they were unmanageable. And thus the advance guard were thrown into disorder, and the men-at-arms fell without number, and

their horses stampeded. Then the English charged the French more fiercely, overthrowing the two first lines, and in many places cruelly destroying and slaying without mercy.* And then all the rearguard, being still mounted, seeing the fate of the two first lines, fled, excepting some of the commanders and leaders. During the battle the English took many prisoners.

27 (6)

‘Gesta Henrici,’ p. 54.

For they [the French] were seized with fear and panic. There were some, even of the more noble of them, who surrendered themselves more than ten times.

There arose a clamour that the hinder battle of the enemy’s cavalry in exceeding great numbers was repairing its ranks and array to come upon us who were so few in numbers and so wearied. And immediately the prisoners, without regard to persons, excepting the Duke of Orleans and a few others, were put to the sword lest they should be ruin to us in the coming battle. But after a little while the adversary’s ranks, by the will of God, having felt the sharpness of our arrows, as our king was approaching, left us a field of blood, with waggons and many carriages filled with provisions, arrows, spears, and bows.

* Cf. Claudius, A. viii. : ‘And than these Frensshmen come priking doune as they wolde have over ridden all our meyne. But God and oure archers made hem sone to stomble for oure archers shett never arrow amys but that perished and brought to ground man and horse, for they that day shoten for a wager. And oure stakes made hem stoppe and over turned eche on oothir that they lay on hepes two spere length of heyght. And oure kyng with his owne hondes faught manly.’

27 (7)

[The chroniclers do not agree in their estimate of the slain. The English writers exaggerate the French losses and minimize their own.]

'Gesta Henrici,' p. 57. [Latin contemporary.]

For they [the French] had, according to their own reckoning, more than 60,000 that drew the sword, when our fighting men did not exceed 6,000; and out of their numbers fell the Dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, five Counts, nearly ninety Barons and standard-bearers; more than 1,500 knights, and between 4,000 and 5,000 other nobles, being nearly all the nobility of the French chivalry.* And there were taken the Duke of Orleans (and others). And there was great joy and wonder among our army, for of our numbers there were found slain in the field nine or ten persons besides the illustrious and wise Prince, Lord Edward, Duke of York, and Lord Michael, Earl of Suffolk.

28 (I)

PARTIES IN FRANCE.

Monstrelet, 'Chroniques,' liv. i., ch. clviii.
[French contemporary, shortened.]

The said Duke of Burgundy, from Lagny-sur-Marne, sent to Paris to the [French] king and his Council, asking that he might enter Paris with all his host for safety; but the only reply vouchsafed to him was that if he would enter unattended, the king and

* *Vide* list of names given by Monstrelet, liv. i., ch. clv.

his Council would be satisfied, and not otherwise. This the Duke of Burgundy would never have done, for he knew well that those who advised the king were his mortal enemies, and he would on no account trust himself to them.

28 (2)

1416. Jean Juvenal des Ursins, p. 534. [French contemporary, shortened.]

The Duke of Burgundy then sent very seditious letters to many of the 'good towns' to gain them over from their allegiance to the king. And he sent to Rouen, which suddenly declared its allegiance to him. The towns of Rheims, Chalons, Troyes, and Auxerre also joyfully submitted themselves, and took the cross of St. Andrew, and said, 'Long live Burgundy!' After their submission they took the men who had formerly been the king's officers, and cut off their heads, and robbed them of their goods. And to kill a man it was sufficient to say: 'He is an Armagnac.' Similarly, when any were found who were known to belong to the faction of the Duke of Burgundy, they were punished, and their goods seized.

28 (3)

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY ENTERS PARIS.

1417, 1418. *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, ed. Buchon, p. 625. [French contemporary.]

Item, at this time, at the beginning of August, the Duke of Burgundy prepared to come to Paris, and he approached, subduing [on his way] towns, cities,

and castles, and proclaiming everywhere in the name of the king, and the dauphin, and in his own name, that no one should pay taxes; wherefore the governors of Paris conceived such great hatred against him that they caused preachers to say that they well knew that he wished to be king of France, and that it was through him and his advice that the English were in Normandy; and in every street in Paris dwelt spies, who arrested and imprisoned their very neighbours; and no man after he had been arrested dared speak about it, for fear of losing his goods or his life.

[On May 28 the Burgundian forces assaulted Paris. The Parisians rose in revolt, and a general massacre took place.]

Then there was a great commotion in Paris. The people took up arms and approached the bands of the Burgundians before the soldiers were assembled. Then the new prefect of Paris came, and with his own followers, and with the help of the commons, repulsed the Burgundians, striking down and killing a great heap outside the gate of St. Anthony; and then the people, being much incensed against the Burgundian, went to all the hostelries in Paris seeking them, and when they found one, whatever were his condition, prisoner or free, he was led out to the soldiers in the middle of the street, and mercilessly slain with great axes and other weapons. And when they were all lying dead, the women and children, having no power to do them further ill, cursed them as they passed, saying, 'Dogs of traitors, you fare better than you deserve.' And you could not find a single street of any importance in Paris where there had not been

some massacre, nor could you walk a hundred paces for the dead that were there. And on that Sunday, the 29th day of May, there were slain in the streets of Paris by the sword and other weapons 522 men, without counting those slain within the houses.

29

THE EMPEROR SIGISMUND OFFERS TO MEDIATE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

April 7, 1416.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies,
p. 42. [English modernized,
c. 1461-1471.]

This same year [1416] came Sigismund, the Emperor of Almaine, into England, for to speak with King Harry, to treat of certain things touching the peace of England and of France, and also for the welfare and unity of all holy Church. And the king and his lords met with him at St. Thomas Watering, without Southwark, and him received with great reverence and worship, and brought him into London, and from thence to Westminster, and there he was lodged in the palace at the king's cost, and that same time the king gave him the livery of the Garter. And when the emperor had been in this land as long as it liked him at the king's cost, he took his leave of the king; and the king brought him to Calais, and tarried there to have answer from the French party of such things as the emperor and the king had sent to them for; and at last it came and pleased them right nought; and then the emperor passed forth his way, and the king came into England again.

30

HENRY'S PREPARATIONS FOR A SECOND INVASION
OF FRANCE.

1417. Cotton MSS., Claudius, A. viii., quoted
'Gesta Henrici V.,' p. 109. [English
modernized contemporary.]

And when the king had done and set all things in his kind on St. Mark's Day, that was that time Hock Tuesday [April 25], he took his horse, and so rode forth to Hampton [Southampton], and there abode to his retinue were ready and comen; for there was all his navy of ships with his ordinance gathered and well stuffed, as longed to such a royal king, with all manner of victuals, as well for horse as man, as longed for such a warrior, that is for to say, armour, guns, tripgetes,* engines, sowes,† bastilles,‡ briges of leather,§ scaling-ladders, mallets,|| spades, shovels, picks, paveys,¶ bows and arrows, bowstrings, tons, chests, pipes** full of arrows, that nothing was to seek when time [should] come. Thither came to him ships laden with gunstone and gunpowder; and when this was ready and his retinue come, the King and his lords, with all his royal host, went to ship and

* Or tapgetts. *Vide* note to extract No. 26.

† A tower on wheels, with a projecting platform to cover besiegers in making an assault.

‡ Wooden towers, high enough to enable besiegers to shoot over the walls of a beleaguered town.

§ Bridges or pontoons of leather.

|| Mallets; these and bill-hooks were the usual weapons of the infantry till Henry VIII.'s time.

¶ Large shields.

** Barrels.



TOWER ON WHEELS.

sailed in to Normandy, and landed at Touques upon the Lammas Day then next [August 1].

31

THE SIEGE OF ROUEN.

1418-1419. John Page, in 'Collections of a London Citizen,' ed. Gairdner, p. 2 *et seq.*
[English modernized contemporary.]

[Siege was laid to Rouen July 29, 1418. The town surrendered January 13, 1419. Page's poem describes in great detail the whole course of the siege and the sufferings of the besieged.]

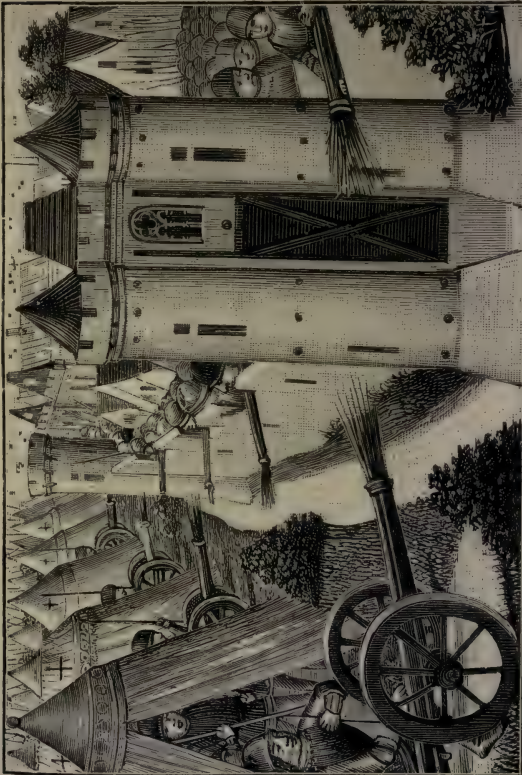
[At Christmastime]

Meat and drinke and other vitayle [victual]
In that city begain to faile,
Save clean water, they had enowe [enough],
And vinegar to put thereto.
Their bread well nigh gone,
And fleshe, save horse, hadde they none.
They eated doggys, they ate cattys,
They ate mice, horse and rattys.

* * * * *

Then to die they did begin
All that rich city within.
They died faster every day,
Than men might them in earthe lay.
Then within a little space
The poor people of that place
At every gate they were put out
Many a hundred in a rout.
Women came kneeling on their knee
With their children in their armys,
To succour them from harmys.

Old men kneeling them by
 And made a doleful cry
 And all they said at once then,
 ‘Have mercy upon us, ye Englishmen.’



THE SIEGE OF ROUEN.

Our men gave them of our bread
 Though they had done some of our men to dead
 [death].

And harm unto them did they none,
But made them to the ditch gone.

* * * * *

Many of them said they had levyr [rather] been
slain

Than into the city go again.

They turned then with murmuration

And cursed their own nation.

The city would not let them in.

[The common people begin to favour the English, and to demand that the town be surrendered to them.]

Then watch and ward full strait
Both day and night on them they wait,
To hold them in both great and smalle ;
For hunger breaketh the stone walle ;
And the captains of that city,
Mayor, burgess and yeomanry
For need they must want meat
Counsel they took that they would treat.

32

HENRY V. NEGOTIATES WITH THE DAUPHIN.

1418. 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,'
vol. ii., pp. 350-358. [English
modernized contemporary memorial.]

[Ambassadors for this purpose were appointed in October, 1418, but the negotiations failed. The memorial in favour of the alliance summarizes Henry's opinions on the situation of the English in France.]

For it must be considered that unless then the
adverse party would treat of peace or truce long or

short, the king must of necessity continue forth his war to the whole conquest of the realm of France, or else cast him to keep this that he hath in Normandy with his whole power or with the substance thereof, that should be to the king as great a charge, and also to the people of his host, as to werreie forth [continue the conquest of] France, and more, for and he abide in Normandy, amongst them that obey him, he must pay his soldiers of his host, as they should be compelled to pay for their victuals in the country, the which must needs be done or Normandy should be lost from him. And it is to wit that ye thing that causeth the Dauphin to falle to such treaty is to have help of the King against the Duke of Burgoyne, the which Duke hath in his governance the King's adversary,* and also his wife and their daughter K.,† and is in Paris without any great power of men of arms.

33

MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AT MONTEREAU.

1419. Jean Juvenal des Ursins, 'Histoire de Charles VI.,' ed. Buchon, p. 555.
[French, before 1473.]

[A treaty of alliance between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy was arranged in July, 1419. A meeting of the parties for the formal ratification of the treaty took place in August.]

For this meeting Montereau was chosen as the place most convenient for the parties. It was

* *I.e.*, Charles VII., King of France.

† Katherine.

ordained that the Duke of Burgundy should have the castle, which is fair, large, and very strong, for his retreat, and should there place his men, and that my Lord the Dauphin should lodge in the town; moreover, that barriers should be erected on the bridge between the castle and the town, and in the middle a kind of enclosure, well shut in, into which there should be entry from the side of the castle and from the town: at each entry there should be a wicket, which should be closed and held by their men; further, a day* was fixed on which the parties were to attend.

[*August 26, 1419.*]—When the Duke of Burgundy saw my Lord the Dauphin, he knelt down and made the reverence and honour which were due to him, saying: ‘My Lord, I am come at your command. You know the desolation which threatens your domain; give heed to the restoration of the same. As for myself, I am ready to risk my person and my goods, and those of my vassals, subjects and allies.’ Then my Lord the Dauphin doffed his hat, thanked him, and told him to rise; and then as he rose he made a sign to those who were with him, and then Tannegui du Châtel came up to him and pushed him by the shoulders, saying, ‘Out with you!’ and, striking him on the head with an axe, killed him. Another, named Lord de Nouailles, was also so mortally injured that he died three days after.

* August 26.

34

ALLIANCE BETWEEN BURGUNDY AND ENGLAND.

1419. Juvenal des Ursins, ed. Buchon, p. 558.
[French, before 1473.]

When the new Duke of Burgundy, called Philip, knew of the death of his father, he was much grieved and angered, and not without reason; and he summoned his council to advise what was to be done. Also he sent to the King of England to treat of peace, offering, indeed, more ample terms than his father had done. And treaty was made between the Duke of Burgundy, in the name of the King whom he was betraying, and the King of England in this hope; and they held their men all as of one and the same party, English and Burgundian, to wage mortal war on my Lord the Dauphin and those of his party, in order to avenge the said murder.

35

THE TREATY OF TROYES.

1420. Juvenal des Ursins, ed. Buchon, p. 560.
[French, before 1473.]

For, indeed, there were three Kings of France—France, England, and my Lord the Dauphin; and the King of England so influenced and moved the King of France, desiring to take the kingdom away from his only son, so that all the country on this side* the river Loire was disloyal, for the people made themselves subject to England. But all on the other

* *I.e.*, the north side.

side remained true in allegiance to my Lord the Dauphin.

The said Duke Philip of Burgundy made peace as is related; then the King of England sent to Troyes the Earls of Kent and of Warwick and Master Jean Dôle, to treat of the marriage between him and Madame Catherine, daughter of the King of France. On May 20 the king arrived at and entered Troyes armed with a large retinue. There the treaty was made and concluded, that after the death of the King, he [Henry] should have the kingdom of France, and that until then he should be styled Regent and heir of France.

36

THE DEATH OF HENRY V.

August, 1422.

Thomas de Elmham, 'Vita Henrici Quinti,' p. 326. [Latin contemporary, shortened.]

[Henry, after a brief sojourn in England, returned to France on hearing of the defeat and death of Clarence at the battle of Baugé. He relieved Chartres, besieged by the French and Scots, and fell ill shortly afterwards.]

And while his infirmity was daily growing on him, he learned by sure messengers that a great and strong army of the false dauphin had besieged the town of Cosne, belonging to the Duke of Burgundy, which the citizens had agreed to surrender if the siege were not raised before a certain day. On learning this the king, forgetful of his own illness, but mindful only of his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, gathered an army hastily for the relief of the town; and because he was much weakened by the stress of his great illness,

he could not ride, but was carried in a litter. And when after some days he reached the town of Corbeil, which lay on the direct route, his malady increasing, he was by his weakness prevented from fulfilling his magnanimous enterprise.

[The army was therefore sent on under the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter, and Cosne was relieved on August 11.]

Now the King grew a little better of his sickness, but after a few days was attacked more severely than before. He was borne to the castle of the Bois de Vincennes in a little rowing-boat. And at Pont Charenton, for the consolation of appearing better than he was, he left the boat and mounted on horse-back; but for the great agony he suffered he could not hold himself on his horse. He was therefore carried in a litter to the castle.*

37

HIS DYING INSTRUCTIONS.

August, 1422.

Thomas de Elmham, 'Vita Henrici Quinti,' ed. Hearne, p. 333. [Latin contemporary.]

Three days before his death, having summoned into his presence the Dukes of Bedford and Exeter and other nobles of his household, he spoke tranquilly to them as follows: 'It is certain,' he said, 'that I cannot escape death, which is already near at hand. If, therefore, during my reign I have ruled otherwise than I ought, or have done anyone injustice, of which I believe the contrary, as a suppliant I pray for pardon. For your good services, especially in

* Where he died, August 27, 1422.

these wars, I give thanks to you and to all your fellow-soldiers; for which, if death had not prevented me, I intended to reward each according to his deserts. I command you to continue the wars until peace is made,* to which, I declare before God, I was drawn neither by the ambitious lust for power, nor for vain glory, nor for worldly honour, nor for any other such cause, but solely that by pursuing my just claim I might obtain at once peace and right. To my brother the Duke of Bedford† I decree that the custody and government of the duchy of Normandy shall be committed until my son reaches years of discretion. But the protector and defender of England shall be my brother, the Duke of Gloucester. My uncle the Duke of Exeter,‡ my Chamberlain, and Hungreford, Seneschal of my household, I wish and desire to be in attendance on the person of my son.

Monstrelet, 'Chroniques,' liv. i., ch. cclxxv.
[French contemporary.]

'And, moreover, I beg you all to see that you have no quarrel with my fair brother of Burgundy, and above all to prevent from this my fair brother Humphrey: for if that arrive, God help us!'

* Cf. Monstrelet: 'Suffer no treaty to be made with our adversary, Charles of Valois, by which the duchy of Normandy will not belong to us freely.'

† Monstrelet: 'And in the case that our fair brother of Burgundy will undertake the government of this kingdom [*i.e.*, France] I counsel you to consign it to him, but if he refuse do you take it.'

‡ 'Gesta Henrici,' p. 159: 'My uncle the Duke of Exeter, my uncle Henry, Bishop of Winchester, together with the Earl of Warwick.'

38

HIS CHARACTER.

Monstrelet, 'Chroniques,' liv. i., ch. cclxxv.
[French contemporary.]

He was very wise and skilled in all matters with which he wished to deal, and of very haughty will. In truth, he was so feared and redoubted by his princes and captains that there were none, however close akin to him or high in his favour, who dared disobey his decrees, and especially those of his kingdom of England.

And likewise all those of his kingdoms of England and France, whatever their rank, were reduced under his rule and dominion. And the chief cause of this was that those who transgressed or infringed his commands he punished very severely without showing any mercy.

39

HOME AFFAIRS: THE LOLLARDS—TRIAL OF SIR
JOHN OLDCASTLE—RISING OF THE LOLLARDS
IN ST. GILES'S FIELDS.

1414. Capgrave, 'Chronicle of England,' p. 303
et seq. [English modernized, c. 1460.]

In this same time the Lollards, that condemned the preaching of the Prophets, the Gospel, and the Apostles, set up bills on the church doors, in which was contained that a hundred thousand were ready for to rise and destroy all them that would not consent to their sect and opinions. They trusted much

on the wit and on the power of a certain knight, they cleped Sir John Oldcastle. He was cleped Cobham, for he had wedded a woman nigh of the lord's kin. A strong man in battle, he was but a great heretic and a great enemy to the Church; for he sent out priests for to preach which were not admitted by no Ordinary, and he was present at their sermons, and all they that said against his priests was he ready to smite with his sword. For these causes and many more, because he was a knight of the King's household,* the Archbishop complained of him to the king.† After much labour to his amendment, the king wrote to the Archbishop that he should summon him to appear and answer. The knight lay that time in his castle cleped Couling [in Kent].

[Oldcastle refused to admit the Archbishop's summoner.]

Then was the summons sent on to the monastery doors in Rochester, but three miles from him. And at the day assigned the Archbishop, in the Castle of

* He was dear and acceptable to the King for his honesty, but mistrusted for his heretical depravity. — Walsingham, ii., p. 291.

† At the unanimous request of all the Bishops and clergy assembled in Convocation.

‘In the convocation of prelates and clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury held at St. Paul's [March, 1413, under writ of Henry IV.] it was concluded, “That it is almost impossible to amend the rent in the seamless coat of our Lord unless certain magnates of the realm, the authors, agents, protectors, defenders and receivers of these heretics called Lollards, are sternly checked and recalled from their errors, if needful by judgment of the Church, with the aid of the secular arm.”— ‘Fasciculi Zizanorum,’ p. 433.

Ledes, cursed him for contumacy and great fautor [favourer] of heretics.

[Oldcastle was brought before Archbishop Arundel at St. Paul's on September 21.]

There the Bishop rehearsed that for contumacy he stood accursed; and, if he would meekly submit him to the Church, he would asoile [absolve] him. Oldcastle stood and would not ask; but took out of his bosom a bill indented, and when he read it took it to the Bishop. Then said the Archbishop, 'Lo, Sir John, here be many good things in your Bill; but ye must answer to other things that be put on you, touching the Sacrament of the Altar, and the power of the Church, and much other thing.' He said to this he would give no other answer than was written in his bill.

[The trial was resumed on September 23. When questioned as to the Pope's authority, Oldcastle said: 'The Pope is Antichrist; Bishops be his members, and friars be his tail.' He was condemned as a heretic, and imprisoned in the Tower.]

Capgrave, 'De Illustribus Henricis,' p. 128.

[Latin, c. 1450.]

He broke loose [October 19] and secretly lurking about in various parts of the kingdom, got together a great crowd of his traitorous associates, purposing to slay the King at the Feast of the Epiphany [January 6], under the pretence of friendship and merrymaking. The rebels proposed to assemble in St. Giles's Fields near London. But the King, aware of their plot, was beforehand with them, and was himself the first to enter the field with his men,

catching the little heretic foxes as they crept out of their holes.*

1417. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 46.
[English modernized, 1461-1471.]

At last the Lord Powys took him [Oldcastle]; but he made great defence, and was sore wounded ere he might be taken; and then he was brought in a horse-litter to Westminster, and there he was judged to be drawn unto St. Giles' Field, and there he was hanged and brent on the gallows for his false opinions.

A LOLLARD KNIGHT [OLDCASTLE].

'Political Poems,' ii., p. 244.
[English contemporary.]

Hit is unkyndly for a knight
That shuld a kynges castle kepe
To babble the Bible day and night
In restyng tyme when he should slepe.

40

PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT—THE PETITIONS OF
THE COMMONS NOT TO BE ALTERED IN WORD
OR FORM BEFORE BECOMING LAW.

1414. Rot. Parl., iv. 22. [English modernized
contemporary.]

[The Commons pray] 'That so as it hath ever been their liberty and freedom that there should no

* Capgrave, 'Chronicle,' p. 307: 'The Kyng was in the feld sone aftir mydnyte. This aspied Cobham: he fled, and many with ihm. Many of his were take and hang and drawe and brent.'

statute nor law be made unless than they gave thereto their assent : considering that the Commons of your land, the which that is, and ever hath been, a member of your Parliament been as well assenters as petitioners, that from this time forward there never be no law made thereupon and engrossed as statute and law, neither by additions, neither by diminutions, by no manner of term nor terms, the which that should change the sentence and the intent asked by the speaker's mouth, or the petitions before said given up in writing by the manner foresaid without assent of the foresaid Commons.'

41

'THE TROUBLOUS SEASON OF KING HENRY VI.'

(1) 1422-1453.

BEDFORD'S CONDUCT OF THE WAR IN FRANCE, 1422-1435—PROCLAMATION OF HENRY VI. AS KING OF FRANCE.

November 19, 1422.

Stevenson, 'Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars in France,' vol. i., p. lxxvii. [English contemporary, shortened.]

And there arrived the Duke of Bedford, who seated himself alone on the high seats of the chamber of Parliament [of Paris] in the place where the first President is accustomed to sit, and by his command the said Chancellor amongst other things related the great diligence that had been made to establish a good peace between the kingdoms of

France and England; and how latterly by means of the marriage and alliance of the late King of England and of the daughter of France, Queen of England, a treaty of peace had been made between the said kingdoms, and that from the said marriage was descended a fair son named Henry, King of France and England, and who by the treaty ought to be King of the said two kingdoms after the death of the late Prince of good memory, Charles VI.,* King of France, not long since deceased. He said, moreover, that Charles, lately styling himself the Dauphin, had no right whatever to succeed to the said kingdom of France; and that even if he had any right, he had lost it and had rendered himself unworthy of it, and that they all should be absolved from his fealty and sovereignty; and that he had incurred penalties, temporal and spiritual, on account of the horrible crime committed in his presence by his consent, contrary to the securities which had been sworn to with the late Duke of Burgundy. He said, moreover, that the Duke of Bedford, Regent of this kingdom for the said Henry, intended to employ body, soul, and substance for the good of this kingdom, to maintain the lordships of the same in good justice, peace, and tranquillity, and to cause to revert the duchy of Normandy to the crown, and to maintain peace between the said kingdoms. And in order the more surely to preserve the said treaty of peace he had commanded to be assembled the persons aforementioned in the chamber of Parliament, in order to swear anew the continuation of the said treaty of final peace between the two kingdoms.

* Charles VI. died October 21, 1422.

42

THE TREATY OF AMIENS—TRIPLE ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLAND, BURGUNDY, AND BRITTANY.

*April 27, 1423.*Waurin, 'Recueil des Croniques,'
vol. v., liv. iii. [French, c. 1455,
shortened.]*

At the beginning of the year 1423 the Dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany met together in the town of Amiens, which Princes made alliance together as follows: 'John, Governor of the realm of France, Regent and Duke of Bedford, Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and John, Duke of Brittany, greeting. Know that in consideration of the friendship and close kinship now between us, and by means of the marriages concluded, agreed and confirmed between us John, Duke of Bethfort, and our very dear and well-beloved cousin and companion, Lady Anne of Burgundy, on the one part, and of our very dear and well-beloved brother Artus, Duke of Thouraine, Count of Montfort and Ivry, with our very dear and beloved sister and cousin, Margaret of Burgundy, on the other, and for the benefit of the King, our lord, and of his realms of France and England and of us and our lands and lordships [etc.], we and each of us swear and promise to be and remain, as long as we shall live, in fraternity, good love, and union, one with another; and if one of us shall have, for our honour's sake, to defend our country and lordships against any who seek to grieve or harm us, we, and each of us, shall be bound to aid the same who shall

* *Vide* also Rymer's 'Fœdera,' x. 280.

have such need. Moreover and besides, that with all our power, and by the best ways and means that we can devise, we will endeavour to relieve the poor people of this kingdom, to get rid of the wars out of the country, and to establish peace and tranquillity, to the end that in the same kingdom God may be served and honoured, and that trade and industry may have their course.’*

43 (I)

THE BATTLE OF VERNEUIL—THE SCOTTISH AUXILIARIES.

1424. ‘Chronique de la Pucelle,’ ed. Buchon, p. 411.
[French contemporary, shortened.]

‘In the year 1424 the Archbishop of Rheims, who had gone to Scotland to seek aid and help against the English, returned bringing with him the Earl of Douglast† and five or six thousand Scotsmen. He landed at La Rochelle and came to the King [Charles VII.], who received him nobly and honourably.’

[They were sent with the Duke of Alençon to relieve Ivry, besieged by the Duke of Bedford. Hearing of the surrender of Ivry, they turned aside and captured Verneuil.]

Then the lords and captains assembled to take counsel what they should do. Some were of the

* The Duke of Brittany broke his pledge and made alliance with Charles VII. at Saumur in 1426.

† This was an act of treachery, for he had promised Henry V. to aid the English cause if King James were released. Charles VII. created him Duke of Touraine.

opinion that a good large garrison should be put in Verneuil, and that the said lords and the rest of the company should go and attack several other places held by the English with few men and no garrison; and that, seeing that the castle and town of Ivry were surrendered, it was neither necessary nor expedient to fight at that time. Of this opinion were the Count of Aumâle, the Viscount of Narbonne, and other veteran captains and soldiers who had a right to speak in such matters, being renowned for their bravery and skilled in war, for no one in France ever advised meeting the English in pitched battle; and when it had been done, ill had come of it. On the other hand, the Earls of Douglas and Buchan,* the Scots, and some young Frenchmen of great courage, who had no knowledge of war and had come of their own will straight from their homes, were of another opinion. Some said that it seemed that those who advised against a battle were afraid, although these were the bravest and most skilled in war. While they were debating thus, it was reported that the Duke of Bedford and his host were encamped three or four leagues from Verneuil. Then there was no longer any question whether they should fight, for the Scotch and some young Frenchmen decided to do so and to have a battle.

* The Earl of Buchan, Count of Aumâle, and Viscount of Narbonne were killed at the Battle of Verneuil. The remnants of this Scottish force are said to have formed the beginning of the celebrated Scottish guard of Louis XI.

43 (2)

THE BATTLE OF VERNEUIL.

August 17, 1424. Monstrelet, 'Chroniques,' liv. ii., c. xx.
[French contemporary, shortened.]

These [*i.e.*, the French], knowing of his [Bedford's] arrival, had made preparations very diligently, and had placed their men in battle array to concentrate against the same Duke [of Bedford], and they had made only one large 'battle' without a vanguard. And besides this they had ordered the Lombards and some others to remain on horseback to attack the enemy and break their lines in the rear and flank. And the large 'battle' of the French was composed of foot-soldiers. Likewise the Duke of Bedford and his men dismounted and arranged his men in one host only, without a vanguard or a single man on horseback; and the archers were put in front, each having before him a pointed stake driven into the ground. And the largest bands of the said archers were placed as wings at the two ends of the 'battle,' and behind the soldiers were all the pages, horses, and the riffraff of non-combatants. And the horses were tied all together by the said archers by their halters and their tails, one to another. And to guard the said horses and the baggage 2,000 archers were assigned by the Duke of Bedford, so that the said 'battle' should not be attacked in the rear; and on the same Thursday, the 16th day of August, at about three hours after noon, these two mighty battles came together. And at the approach the English raised a great shout all together, as is their custom

to do, which astonished the French much. And this battle, thus begun, lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and was most terrible, cruel and bloody. Meanwhile the French, who had been ordered to charge the English in the rear on horseback, came right up to the horses tied together, which they could neither cut their way through nor get round for the resistance shown by the above-said 2,000 archers. Therefore these French cavalry began to fly with the baggage and horses which they had brought, and left all the other men fighting on foot in great danger.

And then these 2,000 English archers, seeing that they had rid themselves of their enemy, themselves fresh and untired, joined their men at the front of the battle, raising anew a great shout. And before long the French were discomfited, and the English threw themselves upon them most valiantly. And then the English persevered thus until they obtained the victory and won the battle, though not without great trouble and bloodshed on both sides; for of the French there were there dead on the field from four to five thousand soldiers, of whom a great part were Scots, and about two hundred prisoners.

43 (3)

PROWESS OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AND THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. v.,
liv. iii., p. 113. [Shortened.]

And I, who took part, know truly that on that day the Earl of Salisbury wrought very great deeds, and

certainly had it not been for the great valour and doings of him alone among the brave men who fought under his banner there is no doubt that the affair would have gone ill for the English. Elsewhere the Duke of Bedford, as I have heard tell, for I could not see everything, did that day wondrous deeds of arms and slew many, for with an axe which he held in both hands he felled all who came within his reach; and he was hard pressed by the Scots, and especially by the Earl of Douglas, so that it was doubtful what the issue would be, for the French, who numbered half as many men again as the English, fought to win.

44

HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, INVADES
HAINAULT.

1425.

[In 1424 Humphrey married Jacqueline of Hainault, wife of John, Duke of Brabant, and in October crossed with an army to seize Hainault, his inheritance. The Duke of Bedford and Burgundy attempted to mediate. The Duke of Brabant accepted, but the Duke of Gloucester rejected their proposals.]

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. v.,
liv. iii., p. 125. [French, c. 1455.]

These different replies of the two Dukes of Gloucester and Brabant were reported to the said Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy at Paris, who were much troubled that the said Duke of Gloucester would not agree to nor accept the arrangement which they had made, and especially Duke Philip of Burgundy was marvellously ill-pleased, and so much so that he said quite plainly to his brother-in-law, the Regent, that, since he saw that his brother of

Gloucester would not condescend to any reasonable treaty, that he would aid Duke John of Brabant, his cousin, with all his might to maintain his honour and his lordship against the said Duke of Gloucester.

Then the Duke of Bedford, seeing the said Duke of Burgundy ill-pleased with his brother, was much grieved at heart, fearing that by such ruptures the alliances and advantages which they had at that time in France should grow cold and be weakened in any way whereby their affairs would become less prosperous.

[At the end of November the Duke of Gloucester entered Hainault with his army, passing through the Duke of Burgundy's country of Artois. The Duke of Burgundy raised a force, under the Count of St. Pol, to oppose him.]

45

THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS.

Bedford's Memorial to the King, in Defence of his Conduct of the War (June 14, 1434).

1428. 'Proceedings of the Privy Council,' vol. iii., p. 223. [English modernized.]

'And all things here prospered for you till the time of the siege of Orleans—taken in hand, God knoweth, by what advice. At the which time there fell, by the hand of God, as it seemeth, a great stroke upon your people that was assembled there in great number, caused in great part, as I trow, of lack of sad belief, and of unlawful doubt that they had of a disciple and limb of the fiend called the Pucelle that used false enchantments and sorcery, the which stroke and discomfiture not only lessened in great party the number of your people there, but as well withdrew

the courage of the remnant in marvellous wise and [en]couraged your adverse party and enemies to assemble them forthwith in great number, to the which divers of our great cities and towns, as Rheims, Troyes, Chalons, Laon, Sens, Provins, Senlis, Lagny, Creil, Beauvais, and the substance of the countries of Champagne, Brie, Beauvoisin, and also a party of Picardie, yolde them without resistance or abode of succour.'

46

JOAN OF ARC'S PROCLAMATION.

1429

'Chronique et Procès de la Pucelle d'Orleans,' ed. Buchon, p. 456.
[French contemporary, shortened.]

'Jesus Maria.

'King of England, and you Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the realm of France, you William de la Pole, you Suffolk, John, Lord Talbot, and you Thomas, Lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said Bedford: yield right to the King of Heaven, deliver to the Maid, who is sent from God, the keys of all the towns which you have taken and destroyed in France. She is come from God to restore the royal blood: she is ready to make peace if you are willing to do right, thus, that you will quit France, and make good the damage which you have done there and pay back the moneys which you have received all the time you have held it. And to you, archers, comrades of war, gentlemen and others who are before the town of Orleans, get you gone to your country, in God's name: and if you do not thus

await tidings of the Maid, who will ere long come to see you to your very great hurt.

‘King of England, if you do not thus, I am the chief of the war, and I assure you that in whatever place I shall find your men in France, I will fight them and pursue them and drive them out willy-nilly: and if they will not obey me I will have them all slain. Do not imagine that you will stay here long: for you shall not hold the realm of France from God. Charles shall hold it, the true heir: for so God, the King of Heaven, intends, and it has been revealed to Charles by the Maid that right soon he will enter Paris in good and fair company. And you, Duke of Bedford, the Maid begs that you will not let yourself be destroyed, that you will give answer if you will make peace in the city of Orleans, where we hope to be right soon. Written Tuesday in Holy Week.’

47 (I)

THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS.

The Maid enters Orleans with Provisions.

April, 1429.

Waurin, ‘Recueil des Chroniques,’
vol. v., liv. iv., p. 273. [French,
c. 1455.]

The men of Orleans, seeing that they were hard pressed by the besiegers, as much by their engines as by the bastilles,* which they had made round the town to the number of twenty-two, sent to King

* Bastilles were wooden towers, used in besieging towns, of sufficient height to enable the besiegers to shoot over the town walls.

Charles to ask for aid of men and provisions. Then he sent to them four or five hundred men or thereabouts, and soon after 7,000 men with ships loaded with stores coming by river, under the guidance and protection of the said soldiers, in which company was Joan the Maid, who so far had done nothing noteworthy. Then the English captains holding the siege, knowing of the arrival of the said boats, and of those who accompanied them, hastily gathered their forces to resist them and prevent them from landing in the town of Orleans, and on the other hand the French roused themselves to get them in there by force of arms. But, in spite of all the opposition of the English, the French brought their vessels in safety into the town, whereat the English were much grieved, and the French, rejoicing in their good adventure, entered the town also, where they were welcomed as much for the provisions which they brought as for the Maid whom they had led with them.

47 (2)

THE MAID RAISES THE SIEGE.

May 8, 1429. 'Chronique de la Pucelle,' ed. Buchon, pp. 434, 435. [French contemporary, shortened.]

The Maid was very desirous to make the English depart and retire entirely from the siege, and for this demanded the generals to make a sortie in full force, on Ascension Day, to attack the Bastille of St. Laurens,*

* The English held the approaches to the town on the north and west by a chain of forts or bastilles, of which St. Laurens was the strongest. On the south the bridge-head was held by

where were all the greatest generals and all the chief strength of the English ; but the generals would not agree to make a sortie, nor to do anything, on account of the sacredness of the day. Thus the matter was delayed that day, to the great displeasure of the Maid. On Friday, the 6th day of May, the French crossed the Loire in great force, in sight of Glacidas,* who immediately caused the Bastille of St. Jean le Blanc to be abandoned and burnt, and made the English retire with their arms to the Bastille des Augustins near to the boulevard and Tourelles. The Maid advanced at the head of her men on foot, making her way direct to Portereau.† And at this time all the foot soldiers had not yet crossed. Nevertheless the Maid went on till she came close to the boulevard, and there she planted her standard, having few men with her. But then a cry arose that the English were coming in force from the side of St. Privé, and by this cry the men who were with the Maid were panic-stricken, and began to fly straight to the ford of the Loire, whereby the Maid was much grieved, and was obliged to retire herself with her few men. Then the English raised a great shout at the French and sallied out in force to pursue the Maid, crying after her and saying insulting words ; and suddenly she turned, and though she had

a fort called the Tourelles, defended behind by an earthwork, or 'boulevard,' and the Bastille des Augustins. On the east side of the town were the Bastille de St. Loup on the north side, and the Bastille de St. Jean le Blanc on the south side, of the river.

* *I.e.*, Sir William Glansdale, an English captain.

† Portereau was an outlying suburb on the south side of the river.

so few men, she faced the English, and marched rapidly against them with standard unfurled. Then, by God's will, were the English overcome, so that they took cowardly and shameful flight. Then the French returned and began to pursue them right up to their bastilles, whither the English retired in great haste. Seeing this, the Maid set her standard before the Bastille des Augustins in the trench by the boulevard; and the French took by assault the said Bastille des Augustins, where the English were in great numbers, who were all slain there. There were a quantity of provisions and riches there, but, inasmuch as the French gave themselves over too much to pillage, the Maid caused the bastille to be set on fire, and everything there was burnt. In this assault the Maid was wounded by a caltrop in her foot, and because night was approaching she was brought back into Orleans; and she left a number of men to hold the siege before the boulevard and the Tourelles. That night the Maid was in great fear lest the English should attack her men before the Tourelles, and therefore on Saturday, the 7th day of May, at about sunrise—by agreement and consent of the citizens of Orleans, but against the opinion and wish of all the generals and captains—the Maid crossed the Loire. The people of Orleans lent her cannon and culverins, and all things needful for the attack of the aforesaid boulevard and Tourelles, and provisions and a band of citizens to aid her. And to attack these Tourelles and win the bridge, they placed on the bridge on the town side a large number of men and guns, with a great device made by the citizens for getting over broken arches and assaulting the Tourelles. In

this encounter Joan was wounded, but nevertheless she never stayed her efforts to make the assault. Moreover, when evening came, it seemed to the bastard of Orleans,* and to the other captains, that they would not take the bastille that day, seeing that it was already late, and they decided to retire from the attack and have the artillery taken back to the town till the morrow, and they told their decision to Joan, who answered that 'they would enter soon, they should have no fear.' Thus the assault was continued, and then she called for her horse, mounted, and left her standard, and going then to a place aside, she there made prayer to God, and then immediately returned, dismounted, took her standard, and said to a gentleman near her: 'Mark when the tail of my standard touches the boulevard.' And he said soon after: 'Joan, the tail touches it.' 'Then,' said she, 'all is yours: enter.'

[The assault was renewed with increased violence and the boulevard and Tourelles carried.]

There was great carnage of the English, for of the 500 knights and esquires—reputed the most valiant of all the kingdom of England—there were slain or taken prisoner about 200.

The English were reduced to great distress by this defeat, and that night they held a great council. Then on Sunday, the 8th day of May, 1429, they came out of their fortifications with their prisoners and all they could carry, abandoning their sick, and their bombards, cannons, artillery, and the rest, and all their provisions and goods, and departed

* Dunois.

in fair array with waving standards all the way from Orleans to Meun sur Loire.

48

THE TRIAL OF JOAN OF ARC.

Letter from Henry VI. to the Duke of Burgundy.*

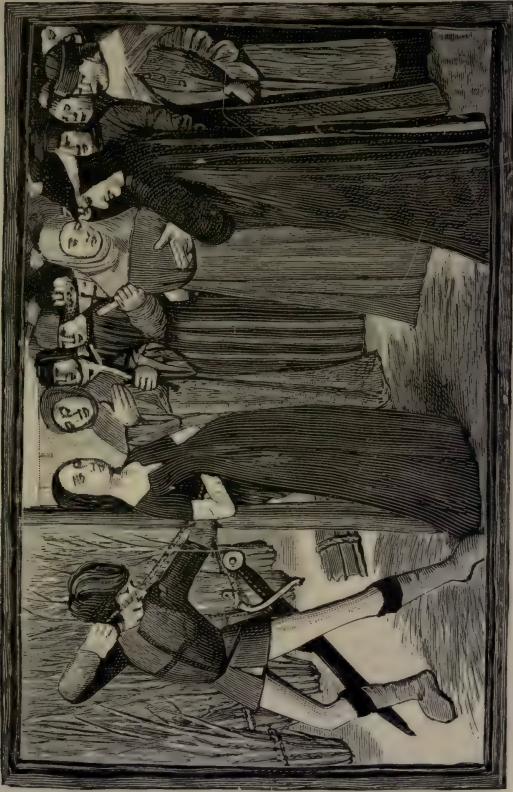
Monstrelet, 'Chroniques,' liv. ii., ch. cv.
[French contemporary, shortened.]

MOST DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED UNCLE,—The Divine Power, having pity on His loyal people, permitted by His great clemency and mercy that the said woman should be captured before Compiègne,† and by your good means put within our obedience and power. And because then we were required by the bishop of the diocese where she was taken to deliver her to him as to her ordinary ecclesiastical judge, we delivered the said Joan to him for trial, not willing any vengeance to be shown to her by any officers of our secular justices, which would have been reasonable and lawful. The which bishop taking in company with him the vicar of the inquisitor of errors and

* A translation is given in E. Halle, 'Chronicle,' ed. 1809, p. 157, and in Halliwell, 'Letters of the Kings of England,' pp. 108-114.

† English chroniclers make only the briefest allusions to Joan. The 'Chronicle of London,' p. 118, mentions her capture: 'Before the town of Compiègne there was a woman taken armed in the field which was called La Pucelle de Dieu, a false witch, for through her power the Dolphyn and all our adversaries trusted wholly to have conquered again France . . . for they helden her amongst them as for a prophets and a worthy goddess.'

heresies, and calling to them a great and notable number of solemn doctors and masters in divinity and canon law, began the trial of this Joan with great



THE DEATH OF JOAN OF ARC.

solemnity and due gravity. The said judges found this Joan a superstitious sorceress of devils and blasphemers of God and His saints, and a person schis-

matic and erring in many ways in the faith of Jesus Christ.

And the judges ecclesiastical caused her to be led before the clergy, and the people assembled in great multitude. And again she was charitably admonished to return to the union of Holy Church and to correct the errors and faults which she obstinately held; and the judges proceeded to pronounce the sentence against her ordained by law for such a case. But before the sentence was given, her courage apparently failing her, she said she would return to Holy Church, which the judges heard willingly and joyfully, and the clergy also, who received her benignly, hoping thus that her soul and body would be recovered from torment and perdition. Then she submitted to the decree of Holy Church, and with her lips publicly abjured and denied her errors and detestable crimes, signing with her own hand the bill of the said abjuration and revocation. But this was hardly done than the fire of her pride, which had seemed to be extinguished, broke out anew in pestilential flames, and then the unhappy woman fell back into her errors and ravings. And therefore, as by the judgments and institutions of Holy Church it is decreed, she was abandoned to secular justice, which incontinently condemned her to be burnt. And so she was led bound to the old market in Rouen, and there publicly burnt in sight of all the people.*

* *Vide* Deposition of Isambert de la Pierre in the Revision of the Trial in 1456 (Quicherat, 'Procès de Jeanne d'Arc,' vol. ii., p. 4).

'The said Joan was so truly contrite and repentant at the end, speaking so devoutly and pitifully, that all those who saw her wept, and so that the Cardinal of England and other Englishmen could not but weep and feel pity for her.'

49

THE DEATH OF THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.

1432. Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' liv. v.,
vol. v., p. 35. [French, c. 1485.]

For the death of this noble lady the Duke of Bedford, her husband, was much grieved at heart, and likewise were all of his party, fearing that by this misfortune the love and alliance should grow cold that had existed so long by reason of the love of this Duchess, between her husband and the Duke Philip of Burgundy, her brother, who loved her very dearly.

At the beginning of the year 1433 the Duke of Bedford married, at Terouane, Jacqueline, daughter of the Count of St. Pol, for which marriage the Duke of Burgundy was not well pleased with the Count of St. Pol, for that he had done it without his knowledge.

50 (1)

THE TREATY OF ARRAS.

1435. Fabyan, 'The New Chronicles of England,' p. 609.
[English modernized and shortened, late
fifteenth century.]

This year also [1435], by means of the Pope, then Eugenius IV., at Arras in Picardy, was holden a great council for to conclude an union and peace atween the two realms of England and France: to the which council, by the said Pope's commandment, came as

a person indifferent, Nicholas, Cardinal of the Holy Cross, with six Roman Bishops to him assigned.

[There were also present representatives of England, France, Burgundy, and Brittany.]

At which assembly and council thus holden, as testifieth divers writers, many great offers by mean of the Cardinal of the Holy Cross to the English lords were offered: but the Englishmen were so obstinately set and purposed upon war that they might no reason content them: by reason of which obstinacy the council was deferred till another day: at which day the Englishmen, intending the continuance of war, absented themselves. Wherewith the said Cardinal being discontented, made means of an entreaty of peace atween Charles and Philip, Duke of Burgoyne, wherof the said Charles was so fain that for establishing of the peace and to satisfy him for the murder of his father he gave unto him all the utter bounds of Champagne, marching upon Burgoyne with divers cities. After which peace thus atween them confirmed and proclaimed, the said Duke became utter enemy to the King of England.

50 (2)

THE THIRD AND LAST OFFER MADE TO THE ENGLISH AT THE TREATY OF ARRAS.

September 8, 1435.

Stevenson, i. 58 *et seq.* [French, 1435.]

And, moreover, we are and shall be satisfied for and in the name of the king, that if three of the conditions above mentioned be acted upon—that is

to say, (1) that upon the part of England there be resigned from this present time and surrendered all the remainder of other cities and towns, fortresses and lands which they hold or occupy in this kingdom;* (2) that all ecclesiastics and seculars, of what estate soever they be, shall return to their benefices, cities, towns, fortresses and immovable possessions; (3) that a reasonable ransom be fixed for the serfmen of Orleans — then the other conditions, that is to say, the renunciation of the crown and the acknowledgment of the ‘ressort,’ sovereignty and tenure as peer, together with the fealty and homage to the king and the crown of France, and also the marriage† above said, shall be and continue as at present and in suspense for the space and term of seven years next coming: at which time, upon the part of the said English, their king, who then will be of age, can more fully deliberate and have good counsel upon the said renunciation and marriage.

51

SIR JOHN FALSTOLF’S ADVICE AND THE FUTURE
CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

1435.

[English 1435, shortened.]

First, it seemeth, that the King should do lay no sieges nor make no conquest out of Normandy, for the sieges hath greatly hindered his conquest in time passed and destroyed his people, and wasted and con-

* *I.e.*, outside Guienne, Normandy, and Picardy, which were to be made over to the English.

† The marriage of Henry with one of the daughters of Charles VII.

sumed innumerable good of his finances. [In order to reduce the French by famine, two forces should be sent from June to November], landing at Calais or at Crotay, and so holding forth there way through Artois and Picardie, and so through Vermandos, Lamos, Champagne and Bourgoyne, burning and destroying all the land as they pass, both house, corn, vines, and all trees that bear fruit for man's sustenance, all bestail that may not be driven to be destroyed. For it is thought that the traitors and rebels must needs have another manner of war and more sharp and more cruel a war than a natural and avowed ennemy.

52

THE FRENCH SUCCESSES IN AQUITAINE.

1442. Bekyngton's 'Journal,' ed. Nicholas, p. 49.
[English modernized contemporary.]

[Bekyngton was sent in 1442 to negotiate a marriage between Henry VI. and the daughter of the Count of Armagnac.]

Letter to the King, dated October 18, Bordeaux.

Please it your grace, as for tidings from this your county of Guienne, to wit, that after your adversary of France had taken your town of St. Lever, and your city of Ax,* and put under his obeisance the country of the Landes, he drew him down towards this your city of Bordeaux, by the river of Garonne, where in right brief time he hath gotten and taken the towns and castles and fortresses whose names he specified in the cedula here enclosed. And

[A list of twenty castles and towns in Guienne.]

* Ax or Dax, on the river Adour. St. Lever is near by.

after that he had the town of Marmande,* he abode there with right little puissance three weeks and more, so that by all likelihood, if any stuff or power of English people had been here, he might never have escaped untaken. And sithence he hath of new increased his army.

And here may be had no comfort of succours to help them [*i.e.*, towns threatened by the French], for we have not wherewith to help ourselves, the which causeth great heaviness, desolation, and sorrow amongst all your people here, seeing that after promise of succours declared unto them by your commandment is passed so long a time and no comfort cometh. Truly in conceipt† of your true men here a little number of good men sent hither by time as it was promised, might have kept your country from this great hurt, which £20,000 will not now by many days lightly recover: and yet furthermore if your merchants had been suffered to pass hither for the vintage in such time as they have been accustomed in years before, doubtless your enemies would not have abiden to do this great harm.

53

THE PROPOSED MARRIAGE OF HENRY VI. WITH THE DAUGHTER OF THE COUNT OF ARMAGNAC.

1442. Fabyan, 'New Chronicle of England,' p. 616.
[English modernized, late fifteenth century.]

In this year also [1442] by certain ambassadors that were sent out of England into Guienne, a

* On the Garonne, forty miles south-east of Bordeaux.

† *I.e.*, in the opinion of.

marriage was concluded in the beginning of the year following atween the King and the Earl's daughter



HENRY VI.

(From portrait in Eton College.)

of Armagnac, which conclusion was after disallowed and put by, by the means of the Earl of Suffolk, which kindled a new brand of burning envy atween

the Lord Protector and him, and took fire in such wise that it left not till both parties with many other were consumed and slain, whereof ensued much mischief within the realm and loss of all Normandy.

54

HENRY'S MARRIAGE WITH MARGARET OF ANJOU.

1445. Gascoigne, 'Loci e Libro veritatis,' pp. 204, 205.
[Latin contemporary.]

The reason of the loss of Anjou was as follows :

William Pole, formerly Earl of Suffolk and created Duke* and Marquis of Suffolk, as proxy of the same King of England, was betrothed to Margaret, younger daughter of the Duke of Loraine, called the King of Sicily, though he had nothing from thence, having been driven out by Alphonso the Bad, King of Aragon. When this marriage was arranged the Duke returned to England, and, having collected there a large sum of money of a fifteenth and tenth, set sail again for France to conduct Margaret to England to be the King's consort and Queen; but in the meanwhile the French King took her, saying: 'She is now Queen of England, and you, Duke of Suffolk, have no safe conduct from our King of France for her, and so you shall not take her to England'; and the Duke, considering the matter, and what would happen to him in England if he failed to bring her back to England, obtained from the King of England, Henry VI., the gift of Maine and Anjou in perpetuity to the Queen's father, the Duke of

* Created duke June, 1448.

Lorraine, of which he was in name the ruler; and thus it was done.* And immediately after the King of England, Henry VI., lost Normandy and France, which the French won from the few hands of the Englishmen there without striking a blow, and soon after the same King of England lost Gascony.

55

SUFFOLK RECEIVES THE THANKS OF PARLIAMENT.

1444.

Rot. Parl., v., p. 72. [English modernized contemporary.]

[On the 5th of June] William Burley, Speaker of the Commons, in the most humble and tender wise, recommended to our said Sovereign Lord the King, my said lord, the Marquis of Suffolk, showing at all times in the King's wars beyond the sea, sithen the time he come to the King's service, and singularly his great and diligent labours which he hath now late had beyond the sea, by his notable wisdom about the treaty of peace between the realms and lordships of Ingelond and France, and in especial in making of the said abstinence of war, the which yet endureth, to the great and singular comfort of all the King's people and to the joyful intercommuning of merchandises between the realms and lordships abovesaid. And also great devoirs and diligences which he hath had in entending to labour by the King's high commandment to the marriage of our said Sovereign Lord the King, and for conducting of her to our said Sovereign Lord's presence, at the great costs and

* Gascoigne is the sole authority for this story.

expenses of my said Lord of Suffolk. The which great works and labours, without the great wisdom of my said Lord of Suffolk, after the conceit of the said Commons could not have taken such conclusion as they had done.

56 (I)

THE ENGLISH BREAK THE TRUCE.

April, 1449.

Stevenson, vol. i., p. 245 *et seq.* [French contemporary, shortened.]

Since the Duke of Somerset has been sent as governor into the marches of Normandy, the truce has not been continued in the security in which it was previously, but many strange blows and attempts have been made by him and his people. And especially the places of St. James de Beuveron and of Mortaing, which are border land, have been seized. Item, in place of repairing the outrages abovesaid, Francois Larragonnois, knight, who is of the council of the prince nephew and of the order of the Garter, has taken by surprise the town and castle of Fougères, belonging to Monseigneur the Duke of Bretagne, who, together with his country and subjects, were and are comprised by name upon the part of the king in the said truce. In which town and elsewhere, in many places in the country of Bretagne, have been done and committed by the said English sacrileges, murders, thefts, fire-raisings, wómen have been violated, prisoners have been made and held to ransom, and all other evils which could be committed in time of war.

56 (2)

EXTRACT FROM THE ENQUIRY INTO SOMERSET'S
MISCONDUCT OF THE WAR.

Stevenson, ii. (721). [French, 1449.]

6. Item, there are due by this Somerset large sums of money from the wages of the soldiers, which he would not pay, so that it became necessary for them to plunder the people and to waste the country, and this to such an extent that there was no one who dared continue in the country who was not either killed or plundered, and the poor country people were pillaged day and night. As he would do no justice to the inhabitants, it followed that the whole country turned to the French.

57

THE SIEGE OF ROUEN.

[Rouen was besieged by the French under Dunois in October, 1449. The town agreed to surrender. The Duke of Somerset, Talbot, and the rest of the English retired into the palace.]

1449. 'Mémoires de Jacques du Clery,' liv. i., ch. v.
[French, before 1467.]

After the Duke of Somerset had withdrawn, the King gave orders that siege should be laid to the palace, and bombards and cannons were set at the town gate and the field gate of the palace. When the Duke of Somerset saw these preparations, he was much disturbed, seeing that he had few provisions and many men, and, considering the impossibility of obtaining help, he demanded a parley. In the end

agreement was made, first, that the Duke of Somerset, his wife and children, and all the rest of the English in the palace and castle, should go where they wished to their country with safety of person and goods, excepting the prisoners and the heavy artillery; secondly, that they should pay to the King of France 50,000 crowns of gold, and, moreover, faithfully pay all that they owed in the said town to citizens and merchants; thirdly, that the Governor should surrender the fortified places of Caudebec, Moutier-Villiers, Lillebonne, Tancarville, and Harfleur, and, as a security for this, give his letters and seal, and that Lord Talbot should remain as hostage until these places and 50,000 crowns were delivered; fourthly, that the son of the Earl of Ormond of Ireland, and the son of Thomas Gruel, Captain of Cherbourg, and the son of the Lord de Roos,* should remain as hostages for the money due to the town. Thus it was done. The hostages were delivered to the officers of the King, and then the Duke of Somerset and the rest of the English departed to Harfleur, and thence to Caen.

58

THE SIEGE OF CHÂTILLON—DEATH OF TALBOT.

1453. Jean Chartier, 'Chronique de Charles VIII.,' vol. iii., pp. 1-18. [French contemporary, shortened.]

In the said year [1453], on the 13th day of July, the French laid siege to the Castle of Châtillon in

* Thomas de Roos, younger son of the Duchess of Somerset by her first husband.

Perigord, on the river Dordogne, which was held by the English.

[Talbot, hearing news of the siege, set out from Bordeaux, with a relieving force of 800 to 1,000 cavalry and 4,000 to 5,000 infantry, and arrived at Châtillon on July 17.]

When the French knew of the coming of Talbot, they withdrew within their said camp and arranged themselves in good order. The gunners brought out their bombards,* and culverins,† and ribaudequins,‡ to the trenches, to face the English as they approached. Meanwhile, those within Castillon managed to inform Talbot that if he made a light and rapid advance the French would fly; but when Talbot arrived he was much dismayed to see, contrary to his expectation, the splendid fortifications made by the French.

On that day Talbot rode a little horse, from which he never dismounted, for he was a very old man and worn in years; but he made all his cavalry dismount.

Then began a terrible assault, and deeds of great bravery were performed on either side; they fought hand-to-hand with axes and lances and guns most valiantly.

This lasted a good hour, for the English always

* Bombards were the earliest form of cannon. They shot stone balls, sometimes 200 pounds in weight.

† Culverin (med. Lat. *columbrina*=snake), originally a hand-gun; in the fifteenth century a large cannon shooting leaden balls.

‡ Ribaudequin, a kind of engine for war, consisting of two or three small cannon set on a carriage resembling a wheelbarrow, with two or four wheels in front and supports behind. (P. de Fenin, 'Mémoires.')

returned to the attack with great ardour, and the French also did not spare themselves to give them a good reception.

[A troop of Bretons came to reinforce the French.]

These, when they arrived, wrought so that they turned the front of the English, put them to flight, and defeated them. And then all the banners were torn and trampled down by these Bretons.

And there remained many of the English dead on the field. Talbot's horse was hit by a shot from a culverin, so that it fell dead on the spot, and at the same time Talbot, his master, was thrown down and incontinently slain by some archers. And thus ended that famous and renowned English leader, who for so long had been accounted the most dreaded scourge and the most implacable enemy of France.

59

ON THE POPULAR DISCONTENTS AT THE DISASTERS IN FRANCE.

C. 1450. Wright, 'Political Songs,' vol. ii., p. 221.

The Rote¹ is dead, the Swanne² is gone,
The fiery Cressett³ hath lost his light;
Therefore Ingland may make great moan,
Were not the helpe of Godde almight.

¹ *I.e.*, the root, the badge of John, Duke of Bedford, d. 1435.

² *I.e.*, the swan, the badge of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, d. February, 23, 1447.

³ *I.e.*, a cresset, or iron basket, fixed at the end of a pole, in which a fire was lighted, the badge of John Holland, Duke of Exeter, d. 1446.

The castelle¹ is won where care begowne,
 The Portecolys² is leyde adowne ;
 Iclosid we have owre welevette hatte³
 That keveryd [covered] us from mony stormys
 browne.

The White Lioun⁴ is leyde to sleep.
 Thorough the envy of the Ape clogge⁵ ;
 And he is bounden that our door should keep,
 That is Talbot our good dogge.⁶
 The Fisshere⁷ hath lost his hangul hooke
 Get them again, when it will be.
 Our Mylle-sayle⁸ will not about,
 Hit hath so long gone empty.

¹ *I.e.*, the castle of Rouen, surrendered to the French October, 1449.

² *I.e.*, the portcullis, the badge of Edmund Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, recalled from France after the fall of Rouen and Caen.

³ *I.e.*, the Cardinal's hat, referring to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, d. April, 1447.

⁴ The white lion was the badge of the Mowbrays. John I., Duke of Norfolk, d. in 1432 ; his son, John II., Duke of Norfolk, went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1447. It is uncertain to which reference is here made.

⁵ The clogged ape, the popular nickname for William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk. *Vide* poem on the Death of Suffolk :

'Jacnapes wolde on the sea a mariner to ben
 With his cloge and his cheyn, to seek more treasure.'

⁶ The popular nickname for John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, left as hostage in the hands of the French at the surrender of Rouen.

⁷ 'The fisher hath lost his angling-hook' refers to William Neville, Lord Fauconbridge (*vide* Neville table), taken prisoner by the French at Pont de l'Arche, 1447.

⁸ The mill-sail was the badge of Robert, Lord Willoughby.

The Bear¹ is bound that was so wild,
 For he hath lost his ragged staffe.
 The Carte-nathe² is spoke-less
 For the counseille that he gaffe.
 The Lily³ is both fair and green ;
 The Conduit⁴ runneth not as I wene.



The Cornysse Chough⁵ oft with his train
 Hath made our Egulle⁶ blind.
 The White Hart⁷ is put out of mind,
 Because he will not to them consent ;
 Therefore the commons saith is both true and kind

¹ The bear and ragged staff was the badge of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, d. 1439.

² *I.e.*, the nave of a cart, the badge of Humphrey de Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

³ Thomas Daniel, a courtier.

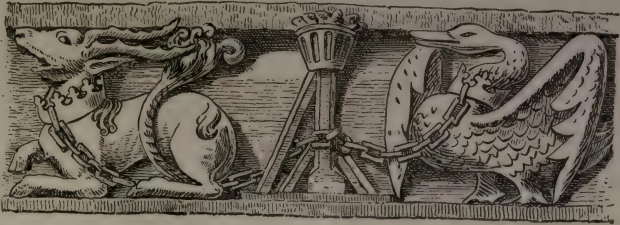
⁴ John Norris, an officer of the royal household.

⁵ Daniel Trevelian, a creature of the Duke of Suffolk's.

⁶ *I.e.*, the eagle, Henry VI.

⁷ The badge of William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel. The verse means that he was hostile to the Court party, and therefore acceptable to the commoners.

Both in Southesex and in Kent.
 The Water-Bowge¹ and the Wyne-Botelle²
 With the Vetturlockes³ chain bene fast.
 The Whete-yere⁴ will them sustain



LANCASTER BADGE.

As long as he may endure and last.
 The Boore⁵ is far into the west,
 That should us help with shield and spear.
 The Fawkoun⁶ flyeth and hath no rest
 Till he wit where to build his nest.

¹ Water-bucket, the badge of Henry, Lord Bouchier.

² The wine-bottle perhaps refers to James Butler, created Earl of Wiltshire in 1449.

³ The fetterlock refers to Sir Robert Botyll, the Prior of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. These three were stanch Lancastrians.

⁴ Henry Holland, the Duke of Exeter, also of King Henry's party.

⁵ The boar was the badge of Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, also a Lancastrian.

⁶ The falcon signifies the Richard, Duke of York, sent in 1448 to Ireland as King's Lieutenant.

60

HOME AFFAIRS—THE PROTECTOR GLOUCESTER'S
POSITION DEFINED BY PARLIAMENT.

[Extract from the Lords' answer made March 3, 1428.]

1422. Rot. Parl., iv., p. 325. [English modernized,
shortened, 1428.]

We Lords call to mind how that in the first Parliament held by the King that now is, you [Gloucester] desired to have had the governance of this land, affirming that it belonged unto you of right, as by the mean of your birth as by the last will of the King that was, your brother, whom God assoil [pardon]. Whereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in Parliament had great and long deliberation and advice, search precedents of the governail of the land in time and case semblable, when Kings of this land have been tender of age, took also information of the laws of the land of such persons as be notably learned therein, and finally found your said desire not caused nor grounded in precedent, nor in the law of the land. And never the less to keep peace and tranquility and to the entent to ease and appease you, it was advised and appointed by authority of the King, assenting the three estates of this land, that you in the absence of my lord, your brother of Bedford, should be chief of the King's council, and devised therefore unto you a name different from other counsellors, not the name of Tutor, Lieutenant, Governor, nor of Regent, nor no name that should import authority of governance of the land, but the name

of Protector and Defender, the which importeth a personal duty of intendance to the actual defence of the land, as well against the enemies outward, if case required, as against rebels inward, if any were, that God forbid: granting you therewith certain power, the which is specified and contained in an Act of the said Parliament, it to endure as long as it liked the King.

61

THE QUARREL BETWEEN HUMPHREY, DUKE OF
GLOUCESTER, AND HENRY BEAUFORT, BISHOP
OF WINCHESTER.

September, 1425.

Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 159. [English modernized, written before 1467.]

The Duke of Gloucester sent for the Mayor and his Aldermen that they should come speak with him, and when they came he charged the Mayor that he should keep well the city that night and make good watch; and so there was all that night, for my Lord of Gloucester and the Bishop of Winchester were not good friends in that time. And on the morrow certain men kept the gates of the bridge of London by the commandment of Gloucester and of the Mayor.*

* *Vide* Beaufort's reply to Gloucester's charges against him (Arnold's 'Chronicle,' p. 291): 'My said Lord of Gloucester sent unto the Mayor and ye Aldermen of the said city of London, to ordain him unto the number of 300 persons on horseback, to accompany him to such a place as he disposed him to ride, the which, as it was said, was unto the King to ye intent to have his person, and to remove him from ye place that he was in without advice and assent of ye King's council.' *Vide* Shakespeare, 'Henry VI.,' Part I., Act I., Scene iii.

And between nine and ten of the bell there came certain of the Bishop of Winchester's [men] and drew the chains of the stulpes* at the bridge end in Southwark his side, the which were both knights and squires, with a great many of archers, and they embattled them and made defence of windows and pipes as it had been in the land of war, as though they would have fought against the King's people and breaking of the peace. And then the people of the city heard thereof, and they in haste shut in their shops and came down to the gates of the bridge in keeping of the city and salvation of the city against the King's enemies, for all the shops in London were shut in one hour. And then came my Lord of Canterbury and the Prince of Portugal,† and treated between my Lord of Gloucester and Bishop of Winchester, for they rode eight times between the Duke and the Bishop that day.

62

BEAUFORT'S APPEAL TO JOHN DUKE OF BEDFORD.

October, 1425.

Printed in Halle,‡ p. 130, from contemporary document. [English.]

[In response to this letter Bedford came to England in December, 1425.]

Right high and mighty Prince, and right noble and, after one, levest earthly Lorde, I recommend me unto your Grace with all my heart. And as you desire the

* Posts at the Southwark end of London Bridge. They are mentioned in Stowe's 'Survey,' *temp.* Elizabeth.

† The Duke of Coimbra, second son of John I. of Portugal, grandson of John of Gaunt.

‡ *Vide* also Ellis, 'Original Letters,' series i., vol. i.

welfare of the King our sovereign Lord, and of his realms of England and of France and your own weal with all yours, haste you hither : for by my truth, and you tarry long, we shall put this land in a jeopardy with a field, such a Brother you have here : God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth that *the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England.* Written in great haste at London, the last day of October, by your true servant to my life's end,

HENRY WINCHESTER.

63

THE PARLIAMENT* OF BATS.†

February-June, 1426.

Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 161.

[English modernized, before
1467.]

And the 25th day of March‡ next after began the Parliament at Leicester, and that endured unto the first day of June, and every man was warned and i-cried through the town that they should leave their weapons in their inns—that is to say, their swords and bucklers, bows and arrows. And then the people took great bats on their necks, and so they went. The next day they were charged that they should leave their bats at their inns, and then they took great stones in their bosoms and their sleeves, and so they went to the Parliament of Bats with their lords. And this Parliament some men called the Parliament of Bats.

* Beaufort and Gloucester were cited to be present at this Parliament, and a formal reconciliation was effected between them on March 12, 1426, by award of the peers.

† Clubs, or bludgeons.

‡ This is incorrect. This Parliament met on February 18.

64

HENRY BEAUFORT IS MADE CARDINAL.

March 27, 1427.

‘Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,’
p. 60. [English contemporary.]

This year before Shrovetide the Bishop of Winchester sailed over to Calais, and soon after the Duke of Bedford* and his Duchess. And upon our Lady Day the Bishop of Winchester was made Cardinal in St. Mary’s Church of Calais, being there present the Duke of Bedford and his Duchess. And before the Mass began, the which the Bishop should do, the Pope’s cousin brought in the Cardinal’s hat, and with great reverence set it on the altar, and there it stood all Mass time. And when the Bishop had sung there was done on him an habit in manner of a friar’s cope of fine scarlet furred with badger’s fur. And then he kneeled down before the altar while the Pope’s bull was read to him. And the first bill was his charge, and the second bill was that the Pope confirmed that he should have still all the benefices that he hath in England. And when this was done the Duke of Bedford went up to the altar and took the Cardinal’s hat, and set it on the Bishop’s head and abeyed [made reverence] to him.†

* Bedford returned to France in March, 1427. Before leaving he made a treaty of alliance with Gloucester (to which Katherine, the Queen-mother, was also a party), each swearing to support the other, and to form no alliance without the consent of the other. *Vide* Bekyngton’s ‘Letters,’ i. 138.

† *Vide* Shakespeare, ‘King Henry VI.,’ Part I., Act V., Scene i., and Gloucester’s charges against Beaufort, made in

65

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE HUSSITES IN BOHEMIA.

[After his investiture as Cardinal, Beaufort had proceeded to fight the Pope's cause in Bohemia. He returned in the autumn of 1428, armed with a Papal commission to raise funds for a second campaign.

1429.

Hall's 'Chronicle,' p. 152. [English,
1st edition, 1542.]

The Bishop of Rome [Martin V.] wrote to the Princes of Germany to invade the realms of Beame [Bohemia], as the den of heretics and cave of devilish doctrine. Beside this he appointed Henry, Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal of S. Eusebius—a man very well born, but no better born than high-stomached, and yet no higher-stomached than abundantly enriched—to be his Legate in this great journey, and to bring men out of the realm of England into the country of Bohemia. And because the war touched religion he licensed the said Cardinal to take the tenth part of every spiritual dignity, benefice, and promotion. This matter was declared in open Parliament in England, and not dissented.

1440. Stevenson, 'Wars in France,' vol. ii., part ii., p. 441: 'The Bishop of Winchester took upon him the state of Cardinal, which was nayed and denied him by the King of most blessed memory, my lord your father [Henry V.], saying he had as lief set his crown beside him as see him wear a Cardinal's hat; and also that it should be against the chief Church of this realm.' Pope Martin V. had offered Beaufort a Cardinal's hat in 1417, after the Council of Constance.

66

THE FORCES VOTED FOR THE CARDINAL'S CRUSADE
TO BE USED IN THE FRENCH WARS.*July, 1429.*

'Ordinances of Privy Council,' vol. iii.,
p. 340. [English contemporary,
shortened.]

First, how be it that the King, by the advice of his said Council, hath granted his licence to the said Cardinal to have out of his realm of England the King's subjects of the same to the number of 250 spears and 2,500 bows to accompany him to the realm of Bohemia for the reduction or expugnation of heretics there that intenden the subversion of the Christian faith. Nevertheless forasmuch as it is thought by the King and the said Council that considering divers great and grievous adversities and fortunes of war happened right late ago after the time of the licence unto the King's subjects in his realm of France and the great jeopardy that the person of my Lord of Bedford, his uncle, and the remnant of his true subjects in the realm of France standen in like to be lost and subverted unless hasty and undelayed provision of succour and relief out of this realm of England be disposed, and that therefore the service of the men of arms and archers, that have endented with the said Cardinal is in all wises necessary and behoveful unto the King. The said Cardinal, for the most singular love, zeal and tenderness that he beareth to the surety of the King and of all his lands and subjects, hath assented in person to go and also to lead his retinue into the

realm of France to my said Lord of Bedford, and there to abide, and also make all of them of the said retinue abide and serve the King in his wars in the realm of France for the time of half a year.

67

BEAUFORT FREED FROM THE PENALTIES OF
PRÆMUNIRE.

[Beaufort accompanied the King to Paris for his coronation. While he was delayed abroad, Gloucester renewed his attacks, charging him with treason, and questioning his right to hold the See of Winchester. Beaufort returned, and was cleared of these charges in Parliament.]

1432.

Rot. Parl., iv., p. 392. [Latin,
1432, shortened.]

The Commons pray it will please your gracious Lordship: Considering the great and noble services as well to you as to your most noble father, made before this time by the very reverent father in God, Henry Beaufort, Priest Cardinal, under the title of S. Eusebius and Bishop of Winchester. To ordain and grant by the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this your present Parliament, by authority of the same Parliament, that the said Henry Cardinal shall not be sued, vexed, impleaded or grieved by you or your heirs and successors, Kings of England, nor any other persons, for cause of any provision or any offence or misprision made by the said Henry against any statute of Provisors or for cause of any exemption, receipt, acceptation, admission or execution of any papal bulls in any manner made to him, etc.

68

THE COUNTY FRANCHISE LIMITED TO FORTY-SHILLING FREEHOLDERS.

1429. Rot. Parl., iv., p. 350. [French, 1429, shortened.]

The Commons of this present Parliament beg that whereas the knights of the shires, elected to come to your Parliaments, in many counties of England have of late been elected by too large and excessive a number of men, dwelling within the said county, of whom the great part are men of little means or none, of whom each pretends to have equal voice in the making of the said elections with the most valiant knights and squires of the county, whereby homicides, riots [etc.] will most likely arise between the gentry and others of the said counties, if convenient remedy be not taken in this matter. May it please your gracious Lordship to ordain by authority of this present Parliament that the knights of the same counties hereafter be elected in each county by men dwelling and resident therein each of whom shall be freeholder to the value of 40s. a year at least, and those who shall be thus elected shall be dwelling and resident in the same counties.

69

THE DEATH OF HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.

1447. Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 188. [English modernized, before 1467, shortened.]

And at Shrovetide was ordained a Parliament at St. Edmondsbury ; and at the coming of the good Duke

Umfrey, some time Duke of Gloucester, as he was alight[ing] off his horse, he was arrested of divers lords for treason by commandment of the king. And upon the Thursday next following he deceased.* And upon Easter next following, Harry, Bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal, and lieth interred at Winchester. And anon after the death of the Duke of Gloucester, there were arrested many of the said dukes [servants] to the number of 38 squires, beside all other servants that never imagined no falseness of that they were put upon.

70

DISSENSIONS AT COURT.

1447-1448.

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. v., liv. vi., p. 349. [French, c. 1455, shortened.]

Jealousy grew up among the princes and barons of the realm of England against this same Duke of York for this, forsooth, that he had prospered with too much honour for the liking of some who did not loyally devote themselves to the well-being and utility of the king and kingdom, and in especial at the

* *Vide* English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 63: 'He died for sorrow, as some men said, but the certainty of his death is not yet openly known.'

Gloucester was popularly believed to have been murdered. *Vide* Cade's manifesto in 'Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles.'

'Item the true commons desire the punishment upon the false traitors, the which contereited and imagined the death of the high and mightful and excellent prince, the Duke of Gloucester . . . upon the which quarell we purpose us to live and die that it is false.'

instigation of the Duke of Somerset, who favoured ill the said Duke of York, and who found means [of injuring him] before the Queen of England, called Margaret of Sicily, who so gained King Henry, her husband, by the advice and agreement of the said Duke of Somerset and other great lords and barons of his party that the said Duke of York was recalled to England and the government and sovereignty which he had exercised for a long time in the duchy of Normandy, and generally in all the part conquered by the English in the kingdom of France, was withdrawn from him, and in his place was appointed the said Duke of Somerset. And it is to be understood that this change and others came about principally through the imbecility of the king.

For at the time of which we are speaking there were two factions in England, each of which strove to gain the government and administration of the king and commonwealth; in the one party was the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York, and several other notable princes and barons and knights; and in the other faction were allied together the Dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, Lord Say, the Bishop of Salisbury, and many others. At that time the Duke of Suffolk was chief minister of the king, and very well liked by the queen.

Soon after the Duke of York returned from Normandy to England, he suffered yet worse at the hands of the Duke of Suffolk and his party, for he was exiled from the king's court and sent to Ireland as into exile.

71

THE MURDER OF MOLEYNS,* BISHOP OF
CHICHESTER.

1448. Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 180. [English modernized contemporary.]

And that same year [1448] being many soldiers at Portsmouth, the which had taken the king's wages for to pass over the sea; and anon after Christmas was sent unto the seaside the Privy Seal, which was called Master Adam Moleyns, to have taken the muster at the seaside, he being at that time Bishop of Chichester. And for his covetousness, as it was reported, shipmen put him to death, and some misadvised men of the soldiers holpen well thereto.

72 (I)

IMPEACHMENT AND EXECUTION OF THE DUKE OF
SUFFOLK.

[In March, 1450, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was impeached. He was sentenced to five years' exile. His enemies, however, did not allow him to escape.]

March, 1450. Wright's 'Political Songs,' vol. ii., p. 228,
'A Warning to King Henry.'

Suffolk Normandy hath sold
To get again he is bold.
How accordeth these two in one?

* Adam Moleyns, besides sharing in the general unpopularity of the Church, was hated for the part he had had with the Duke of Suffolk of arranging the truce with France and cession of the provinces of Anjou and Maine in 1445.

And he wenyth, withouten dread,
 To make the King avow his deed
 And call hit no treason.
 Be ware, King Henré, how thou dost.
 Let no longer thy traitors go loose ;
 They will never be true.
 The traitors are sworn all together
 To holde fast as they were brether ;
 Let them drink as they have brewe.

72 (2)

*Letter from William Lomner to John Paston dated
 May 5, 1450.*

May, 1450. 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 93. [English
 modernized, shortened.]

As on Monday next after May Day [May 4], there come tidings to London, that, on Thursday before, the Duke of Suffolk came unto the coasts of Kent full near Dover, with his two ships and a little spynner [pinnace], the which spynner he sent with certain letters to certain of his trusted men unto Calais ward, to know how he should be received ; and with him met a ship called *Nicolas of the Towre*, and by them that were in the spynner the master of the *Nicolas* had knowledge of the duke's coming. And when he espied the duke's ships, he sent forth his boat to wit what they were, and the duke himself spake to them and said he was by the king's commandment sent to Calais ward. And they said he must speak with their master. And so he, with two or three of his men, went forth with them in

their boat to the *Nicolas*; and when he [was] come, the master bade him 'Welcome, traitor,' as men say; and, further, the master desired to wit if the shipmen would hold with the duke, and they sent word they would not in no wise. Some say he wrote much thing to be delivered to the king, but that is not verily known. And some say he was arraigned in the ship upon the impeachments and found guilty.

Also he asked the name of the ship, and when he knew it he remembered Stacy,* that said, if he might escape the danger of the Tower he should be safe; and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived, and in sight of all his men he was drawn out of the great ship into the boat; and there was an axe and a stoke [block], and one of the lewdest of the ship bade him lay down his head, and he should be fair ferd [dealt] with and die on a sword; and took a rusty sword and smote off his head within half a dozen strokes, and took away his gown of russet and his doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his body on the sands of Dover.

73 (I)

CADE'S REBELLION.

1450. Gregory's 'Chronicle,' pp. 190-195. [English modernized, before 1467, shortened.]

[May] And after that the commons of Kent arose with certain other shires, and they chose them

* John Stacy, an astrologer and necromancer, was arrested and executed in 1477 for having prophesied the death of Edward IV. and succession of the Duke of Clarence.

a captain, the which captain* compelled all the gentles to arise with him.

[June] And at the end of the Parliament they come with a great might and a strong host unto the Black heath, beside Greenwich, the number of 46,000, and there they made a field [camp], diked and staved well about, as it be in the land of war, save only they kept order among them; and there they abode to the coming of the king from the Parliament at Leicester. And then the king sent unto the captain divers lords to wit and have knowledge of that great assembling, the captain of them sending word again unto the king, that it was for the weal of him our Sovereign Lord, and of all the realm, and for to destroy the traitors being about him.† Upon the which answer the king did make cry that all the king's liege men of England should avoid the field. And upon the night after they were all voided. The morn after the king rode armed at all pieces from St. John's beside Clerkenwell, through London, and with him the most party of the temporal lords in

* *Vide* English Chronicle, ed. Davies: 'An Irishman, called John Cade, the which . . . took on him the name of a gentleman and called himself Mortimer for to have more favour of the people.' He thus openly avowed his partisanship with the Duke of York.

† *Vide* Jack Cade's manifesto in Stowe's memoranda in 'Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles':

'Item. We say our sovereyn lord may understond that his fals councell hath lost his law, his marchaundyse is lost, his common people is dystroyed, the see is lost, France is lost, the kynge hymselfe is so set that he may not pay for his mete nor drynke, and he owythe more than evar eny kynge of Yngland ought, for dayly his traytours about hym, wher enythyng shuld come to hym by his lawes, anon they aske it from hym.'

their best array. After that there were every lord with his retinue, to the number of 10,000 persons, with bands above their harness, that every lord should be known from the other. And in the forward, as they would have followed the captain, was slain Sir Umfrey Stafford and William Stafford, squire, one of the manliest men of all this realm, with many more, at Sevenoaks in Kent. And soon after every lord with his retinue rode home into their country. And after that, upon the first day of July, the same captain came again to the Black heath, and upon the morrow he came with a great host into Southwark, and at the White Hart he took his lodging. And upon the morrow, that was the Friday, against even, they smote asunder the ropes of the draught bridge and fought sore, and many a man was murdered and killed in that conflict—I wot not what to name it for the multitude of riff-raff. And then they entered into the city of London, as men that had been half beside their wit, and in that furiness [madness] they went straight unto a merchant his place, named Philip Malpas, of London. And that Philip Malpas was Alderman, and they spoiled him and bare away much good of his. And in the morn he came in again, that sorry, simple and rebellious captain, with his mayny. And the same day after noon was beheaded in Cheap afore the Standard Sir James Fiennes, being that time Lord Say* and Great Treasurer of England. And that same even London did arise and came out at ten of the bell, and from that time until the

* At the beginning of the insurrection the King, 'dredying the malice of the peple, committed [Lord Say] to the Tour of

morrow, eight of the bell, they were ever fighting upon London Bridge, and many a man was slain and cast in Thames—harness, body, and all. And the same night the Captain of Kent did fire the draught bridge of London, and before that time he break both King's Bench and the Marshalsea, and let out the prisoners that were in them. And upon the morrow betimes came my lord the Cardinal of York, and my lord of Canterbury,* and the Bishop of Winchester,† and treated between the Lord Scales‡ and that captain, that the sore conflict ceased, and gave the captain and his mayny a general charter for him and all his company. And upon the 12th day of July the said captain was cried and proclaimed traitor, and that what[ever] man might or would bring the said John Cade to the king should have of the king 1,000 marks. And that day was that false traitor the Captain of Kent i-take and slain in the Weald in the country of Sussex.

London.' *Vide* English Chronicle, ed. Davies ; *vide* Wright's 'Political Songs and Poems,' vol. ii., p. 228 :

' So pore a kyng was never seene,
 Nor richere lordes alle bydene ;
 The communes may no more.
 The Lorde Say biddeth holde hem downe,
 That worthy dastarde of renowne,
 He techithe a fals lore.'

* John Stafford, formerly Bishop of Bath, succeeded Kemp as Chancellor 1432 ; made Archbishop of Canterbury 1443.

† William Waynflete.

‡ Thomas, Lord Scales, led the Londoners against Cade.

73 (2)

[At the time of Cade's rebellion popular indignation vented itself against the Bishops of the Court. *Ibid.*, p. 158.]

And then in England were slain by the English the Duke of Suffolk, William 'Pulle,' and James, called Lord Say, and Lord William Hasku [Ayscough], Bishop of Salisbury, then the confessor of King Henry VI. And he was slain by the people of his own diocese after his Mass, which he had celebrated on the feast of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and he met his death piously as they say. And they robbed many of his goods, saying: 'He remained always with the King and was his confessor, and did not live in his diocese of Salisbury with us, nor use hospitality, therefore he shall be slain.' And so they beat him and struck him and wounded him mortally with horrible weapons, and after they had dragged him out of his church killed him, and threw him naked in the fields.

74 (I)

THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE BISHOPS.

Gascoigne, 'Liber Veritatis,' p. 41.

[Latin, c. 1458.]

Now is the hatred of all the land turned against the bishops, men of all ranks exclaiming: 'Down with the bishops, who grow rich and wish to be called lords, and be served on bended knee, and ride in stately cavalcades, and yet will do nothing to save

men's souls by preaching; either they do not know how to preach, or cannot, being too much absorbed in worldly business and pleasures.' This was the common cry of the people and the clergy against the



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CHAPEL OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

bishops; and they murdered the Bishop of Chichester, Adam Moleyns, and the Bishop of Salisbury, William Asku [Ayscough], and persecuted the Bishop of Chester, named Booth, and the Bishop of Norwich, Walter Lyart, and they robbed the rectors and vicars of divers churches in Kent.

74 (2)

Pecock, 'The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy,' vol. ii., p. 331. (A defence of the Church and clergy against the Lollard attacks.) [English modernized, written *c.* 1450.]

From out and by riches comen full many and full great virtuous deeds, and full almsful and pitiful deeds. Let only good men and well-proved men in virtue be taken into priesthood and into prelacy, wherein be rich possessions, and without doubt much more good shall come by the having of the rich possessions than should come if they were not had. But all the cause why evil cometh fro and by the rich possessions had in prelacy, is for that virtuous men and well-proved men, in learning and in living, be not chosen and taken into prelacies; but somewhile children,* somewhile men wantonly brought up in court,† somewhile unlearned men‡ for their great blood and high birth,§ unto the damnation of them

* *Vide* Gascoigne, pp. 16, 17. In 1456 George Neville, fourth son of the Earl of Salisbury, was promoted to the See of Exeter, he being twenty-three years old. Pope Calixtus III. confirmed his election and licensed him to receive the revenues of the bishopric as Bishop-elect; he was not to be consecrated until four years later. License for his consecration was, however, granted on November 30, 1458.

† *E.g.*, Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester; William Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury.

‡ *Vide* Gascoigne, p. 201. Fulk de Birmingham, a half-witted person, was appointed to the archdeaconry of Oxford. He held also twelve prebends and several rectories by license of Pope Eugenius IV.

§ Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chichele's successor, of whom Gascoigne relates: 'Lately a poor man came to the

which is so chosen and taken as it is much to dread.

75 (1)

ABUSES IN THE CHURCH—THE SALE OF
INDULGENCES.

Gascoigne, 'Liber Veritatis,' p. 123.

Sinners nowadays say: 'I care not what nor how many sins I commit in the sight of God, for I can easily and readily obtain plenary remission for any fault, and penance by absolution and indulgence granted by the Pope, whose deed in writing I can buy for 4d. or 6d., or for a game of bowls.' For those who grant letters of indulgence travel through the country, and sometimes they grant a letter for 2d., sometimes for a good draught of wine or beer, sometimes for a game of bowls, if they lose it, and some used to say: 'Now Rome comes to our doors.'

75 (2)

ON THE CORRUPTION OF THE TIMES.

Wright, 'Pol. Songs,' vol. ii., p. 235 *et seq.*,
written c. 1456.

Now prelates don pardon selle,
And holy church is chaffare,
Holiness cometh out of helle,
Ffor absolutions waxen ware.

servant of an Archbishop, the son of a great lord, and said, "I wonder the Archbishop does not give audience in his own person to his subjects as his predecessors did." The servant answered, "My Lord was not bred as his predecessor had been bred." Chichele's father was said to have been a tailor.

76

ON THE CORRUPTION OF PUBLIC MANNERS.

Wright, 'Pol. Songs,' vol. ii., p. 251.

Ye proud galantës heartlesse,
With your high cappës witlesse
And your short gownës thriftlesse,
Have brought this land in great heavinessse
With your long pecked shoon,
Therefore your thrift is almost done.
And your long hair in your eyeen
Have brought this land to great pyne.

Ye pope holy prestës ful of presumption,
With your wide-furred hoods void of discretion,
Undo your own preeching of contrary condition
Which causeth the people to have less devotion ;
Advanced by simony in cities and townës
Make shorter your tailës and broader your crownës ;
Leave your short-stuffed doublets and your pleated
gownës,
And keep your own housen and pass not your
boundës.

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- BEAUCOURT, E. DU FRESNE DE: Histoire de Charles VII. Six vols. Paris, 1881-1891. (Valuable.)

IV. ON SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

1. *Army and Navy.*

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DATE SUMMARY

PART I. — 1399-1453.

HENRY IV.—1399-1413.

Extract.

- 1399, September : Henry of Lancaster challenges the Crown 2
October : Meeting of Parliament. The Acts of the
Parliament of Shrewsbury in 1398 are repealed ;
those of the Merciless Parliament of 1388 re-
enacted.
Proceedings against Richard's appellants - 3 (1-3)
Richard II. condemned to imprisonment.
- 1400, January : Conspiracy of the Earls of Rutland, Hunting-
don, Kent, and Salisbury - - - - 4
Death of Richard II. - - - - 5
Scottish affairs : Quarrel between the Earls of
Rothsay and Dunbar. Dunbar allies himself to
Henry.
June : Outbreak of the Welsh rebellion under Owen
Glendower. This rebellion is successfully main-
tained for ten years - - - - 8 (1-5)
August : Robert III., King of Scotland, refuses to do
homage to Henry, who invades Scotland in person
and lays siege to Edinburgh.
1401. Proceedings against the Lollards.
February : Statute de Hæretico Comburendo - 6
Trial and execution of William Sawtrey - - 7
[The first execution for Lollard heresy in England.]

Extract.

- 1402, June: Sir Edmund Mortimer captured by Glendower 8(5)
 August-September: The Scots invade England. They
 are defeated by the Percies at the Battle of Homil-
 don Hill - - - - - 9
 September 22: Henry forbids the ransoming of
 prisoners taken at Homildon - - - - - 10
- 1402, 1403. Revolt of the Percies. They intrigue with the
 Scots - - - - - 11
 Sir Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, joins the con-
 spiracy.
- 1403, July 21: Battle of Shrewsbury. Defeat and death
 of Hotspur. Execution of Worcester and other
 prisoners. Pardon granted to Northumberland - 12
 Henry unable to proceed to Wales against Glendower
 for want of money.
 Privateering in the Channel. Burning of Plymouth
 by French pirates.
- 1404, October 6: Meeting of the 'Unlearned' Parliament at
 Coventry. Proposal to confiscate the temporalities
 of the Church - - - - - 19
- 1405, February: Attempt to carry off the two young Mor-
 timers from Windsor.
 March: Tripartite treaty between Northumberland,
 Edmund Mortimer, and Glendower for division of
 England.
 May: Conspiracy of Scrope, Archbishop of York,
 Mowbray and Bandolf in favour of the Earl of
 March, followed by the execution of Archbishop
 Scrope (June 7) - - - - - 13
- 1406, March: Capture of Prince James of Scotland - 14
 Parliament: The Commons claim the right of formal
 audit of their grants (conceded).
- 1407, October: The Commons gain the right of initiating
 money grants - - - - - 20
 Affairs in France: Murder of Louis, Duke of Orleans,
 at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy.
- 1408, February: The Earl of Northumberland again rebels,
 and is defeated and slain at Bramham Moor.

Extract.

1409. Schism in the Papacy. Council of Pisa. Popes Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. deposed. Alexander V. elected.
1410. The knights again propose the confiscation of the temporalities of the Church - - - 19 (footnote)
Execution of John Badby, a Lollard.
1411. Henry IV. sends aid to the Burgundian party in France at the instigation of Prince Henry. The Burgundians drive the Armagnacs from Paris - 16
1412. Prince Henry discharged from the Council - - 17
Henry IV. treats with the Orleanist party; they offer to restore Aquitaine. Opposition of Prince Henry 17
Attempt to make Henry IV. abdicate - - - 18
- 1413, March: Death of Henry IV.

HENRY V.—1413-1422.

- 1413, March: Arundel, Archbishop of York, urges the persecution of the Lollards.
- 1413, 1414. Trial of Sir John Oldcastle, leader of the Lollards. He is imprisoned in the Tower, but escapes - 39
- 1414, January: Meeting of Lollards in St. Giles's Field - 39
April: New statute against heresy. The secular power authorized to take the initiative in proceeding against heretics.
Measures assented to by the Commons not to be altered in engrossment - - - - 40
Confiscation of the property of alien priories.
- 1414-1418. Council of Constance.
1414. Henry V. negotiates with Burgundians and Armagnacs. He demands recognition of the Treaty of Bretigny.
September: Henry V. asks advice relative to the French claim at a Grand Council at Westminster.
November: Henry V. announces to Parliament his intention of making war on France.
- 1415, June: Henry claims the French crown. Charles VII., King of France, denies the claim. Preparations made for invasion - - - - 22

Extract.

- July : Conspiracy of Cambridge, Scrope, and Grey in favour of the Earl of March - - - - 24
 Council of Constance. Condemnation and execution of the Bohemian reformer, John Huss.
 John of Bedford is appointed Regent during Henry's absence.
- August 13 : Henry lands in Normandy at the mouth of the Seine.
- August 17 to September 22 : Siege of Harfleur - 26
- October 2 : Henry starts on his march to Calais.
 Passage of the Somme - - - - 27 (1, 2)
- October 25 : Battle of Agincourt - - - - 27 (3-7)
- November : Return of Henry to England.
 State of parties in France : The Armagnacs with Charles VI. retire to Paris. The Count of Armagnac is made Constable of France - - - - 28 (1, 2)
- 1416, April : Emperor Sigismund visits England and offers to mediate between England and France - - - - 29
- 1417, August : Henry V.'s second invasion of France. He captures many towns in Normandy and Maine—Touques, Caen, Lisieux, Bayeux, Falaise, Alençon, and others - - - - - 30
1417. Arrest and execution of Oldcastle - - - - 39
 Council of Constance. Election of Martin V. as Pope. End of the Great Schism.
 Capture of Domfront and Cherbourg.
- 1418, July, to 1419, January : Siege of Rouen - - - - 31
- 1418, May : Massacre of the Orleanists in Paris. Duke of Burgundy master of Paris. The Dauphin Charles offers to treat with Henry. Henry's memorial on the situation in France - - - - - 32
- 1419, January : Fall of Rouen. All Normandy now subject to England.
 July : Truce arranged between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy.
 Murder of John, Duke of Burgundy, at Montereau - 33
- October : Alliance between Henry V. and Philip, Duke of Burgundy - - - - - 34

Extract.

- Henry continues his conquest of France; Gisors, Poissy, Mearlan, Les Audelys, and Château Gaillard taken.
1420. May: Treaty of Troyes. [Henry to be Regent of France during life-time of Charles VI., and King after his death] - - - - - 35
- June: Marriage of Henry V. with Katherine of France. The Scots send aid to France.
- 1421, February: Henry returns to England.
- March 21: Battle of Beaugé. Defeat of the English under the Duke of Clarence.
- June: Henry returns to France.
- July: Reduction of Dreux.
- 1422, May 2: Surrender of Meaux.
- The Dauphin lays siege to Cosne - - - - - 36
- August: Henry sets out to its relief, but is taken ill. Cosne relieved by John, Duke of Bedford - - - - - 36
- August 31: Henry dies at Bois de Vincennes - - - - - 36

HENRY VI.—1422-1453.

- October: Death of Charles VI. of France. Henry VI. is proclaimed King of France. The Dauphin is proclaimed Charles VII., King of France - - - - - 41
- 1422, November: Henry V.'s will set aside by Parliament. John, Duke of Bedford, to be Regent of France, Humphrey of Gloucester Protector during Bedford's absence. Regency Council appointed.
- 1423, April: Treaty of Amiens between Bedford, Burgundy, and Brittany - - - - - 42
- July 30: Battle of Cravant secures communication between the English and Burgundy. Defeat of the French and Scots.
- September: Peace made with Scotland. Release of James I.
- 1424, August 17: The Battle of Verneuil. Defeat of the French and their Scottish allies by Bedford 43 (1-3)
- 1424-1425. Invasion of Hainault by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester - - - - - 44

Extract.

- 1425-1447. Quarrels between Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, for control of the Government - - - - 61
- 1425, October : The Battle of London Bridge - - - 61
- 1425, October : Beaufort appeals to Bedford, who returns to England. A formal reconciliation is effected - 62
- 1426, February-June : The Parliament of Bats at Leicester
The Council defines the authority of Gloucester and of Bedford. 63
- 1427, March : Bedford returns to France.
Beaufort receives the Cardinal's hat at Calais, and goes on a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia, returning to England in 1428 - - - - 64
- 1428, October : The Earl of Salisbury lays siege to Orleans - - - - 45
The coming of the Maid of Orleans - - - - 46
- 1429, March : The Battle of Herrings. The French defeated by Sir John Fastolf.
April : Joan of Arc raises the siege of Orleans 47 (2)
June 18 : Battle of Patay. Defeat of the English.
Beaufort agrees to lend the force voted to him by Parliament for a second crusade against the Hussites to Bedford - - - - 66
July : Joan of Arc leads Charles VII. to Rheims, where he is crowned.
September : Joan unsuccessfully assaults Paris. La Tremouille disbands her army.
November 29 : Henry VI. is crowned at Westminster.
Parliament : The county franchise is limited to forty-shilling freeholders - - - - 68
- 1430, May : Joan of Arc captured by the Burgundians at Compiègne. She is handed over to the English. An ecclesiastical court appointed to try her.
- 1431, March-May : Trial of Joan of Arc. She is burnt at Rouen, May, 30 - - - - 48
December 16 : Henry is crowned King of France at Paris by Beaufort.

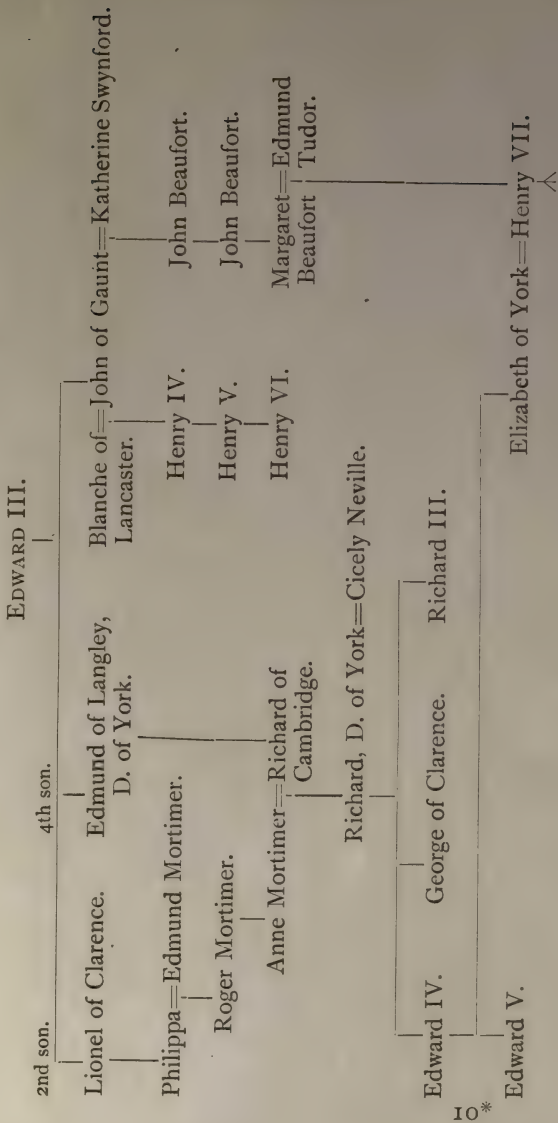
- 1432, May : Beaufort is protected by Parliament against the penalties of Præmunire - - - - 67
 The English lose ground in France. Chartres recovered by the French.
 Bedford besieges Lagny.
 August : Lagny relieved by Dunois, Bastard of Orleans. [This was the first check received by Bedford in person.]
 November : Death of Anne, Duchess of Bedford. [Weakens bond of alliance between Bedford and Burgundy.] - - - - 49
1433. Burgundy further displeased by Bedford's marriage with Jacqueline of Luxembourg.
 Unsuccessful attempts made to treat for peace between English and French.
 September : Truce arranged between Burgundy and France.
- 1435, July : The Conference at Arras. The English refuse to accept the French proposals, and retire from the Conference. Treaty of alliance arranged between Burgundy and France. Bitter feeling in England against Burgundy - - - - 50 (1)
 September 15 : Death of John, Duke of Bedford. Duke of York appointed to direct the war.
 Rising of peasantry in Normandy.
- 1436, December : Pontoise, Charenton and other towns in the Isle de France lost.
 April 13-17 : The French under Dunois and the Constable de Richemont besiege and take Paris.
 June 9 : The Duke of Burgundy lays siege to Calais.
 August : Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, invades Flanders.
- 1437, July : Earl of Warwick appointed King's Lieutenant-General of the war in France.
 November : Henry VI. begins to nominate his own Council.
- 1437-1444. The English gradually lose ground in France.

Extract.

- 1440, April : English lay siege to Harfleur. Civil war in France.
 November : The Duke of Orleans (a prisoner in England since Agincourt) is released at Beaufort's instigation, opposed by Gloucester.
 Henry founds Eton College and King's College at Cambridge.
- 1441, June : The Duke of York Lieutenant-General of the war. Pontoise relieved by Talbot, retaken by the French King. This was the last English stronghold in the Isle de France.
1442. Proposed marriage of Henry VI. with the daughter of the Count of Armagnac - - - - 53
 The French reconquer Aquitaine - - - - 52
- 1443, February : John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, appointed Captain-General of France and Guienne for seven years. [His authority limited to those parts not actually under the control of the Duke of York.]
 Discontent in England. Private war breaks out between Sir William Bonville and the Earl of Devon ; between Lord Berkeley and the Talbots. Riots in various parts of the country.
- 1444, May : Somerset dies. His expedition a failure.
 William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, negotiates truce with France.
 June : Suffolk receives the thanks of Parliament.
 He takes the lead in the King's Council - - - 55
- 1445, Marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou. Cession of the provinces of Maine and Anjou - - - 54
- 1447, February : Parliament at Bury St. Edmunds. Arrest of Gloucester on charge of high treason - - - 69
 February 23 : Death of Gloucester. Richard of York heir-apparent of the crown - - - - 69
 April : Death of Beaufort.
- 1447, September, 1448 : Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, appointed Lieutenant of France in the place of the Duke of York, who is sent to Ireland as King's Lieutenant for ten years - - - 70

- 1448, March : Maine surrendered to the French.
The truce in France is broken by the disbanded garrisons of Anjou and Maine, who ravage Brittany and sack Fougères.
1449. The French invade and reconquer Normandy.
October 29: Somerset surrenders Rouen to the French, leaving Talbot as hostage - - - 57
- 1450, January : Murder of Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester - 71
April 15 : Defeat of the English at the Battle of Formigny.
February-May : Unpopularity of Suffolk. He is impeached and sentenced to exile, but taken and executed in the Channel - - - 72
May-July : Jack Cade's insurrection - - - 73
Attack on unpopular ministers and bishops. Murder of Lord Say and of Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury.
August : York returns from Ireland, and Somerset from Normandy.
1452. York collects an army, and demands the dismissal from Court of Somerset.
- 1453, May : [The fall of Constantinople.]
July : The siege of Châtillon. Defeat of the English under Talbot, who is slain - - - 53
The end of the Hundred Years' War.

A.—LANCASTRIAN AND YORKIST KINGS.



10*

B.—HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND TUDOR.

EDWARD III.

John of Gaunt,

m. (1) Blanche, dau. of Henry, .
1st D. of Lancaster, d. 1369. (2) Constance of Castile,
d. 1394.

Philippa of Lancaster,
m. John I., King of
Portugal.

Henry IV., b. 1366,=(1) Mary Bohun, dau. and
co-heir of Humfrey,
E. of Hereford.

Henry V.,
b. 1387, d. 1422;

m. Catherine of France, who m. (2) Owen
Tudor, beheaded
after Battle of
Mortimer's Cross
1461.

Henry VI.,
b. 1421, died 1471;
m. Margaret of
Anjou.

Edward. Prince
of Wales,
b. 1453, d. 1471.

Thomas of Lan-
caster, D. of
Clarence, killed
at Beaugé 1421.

John of Lancaster,
D. of Bedford,
d. 1435.
Humphrey, D.
of Gloucester,
d. 1447.

Jasper Tudor,
created E. of Pembroke
1453, D. of Bedford
1485, d. 1495; m.
Katherine Woodville,
widow of the D. of
Buckingham.

Edmund Tudor,=Margaret Beaufort,
created E. of
Richmond,
d. 1456.
d. 1509. (See
Table C.)

Henry VII., b. 1457, d. 1509;
(See Table C.)
m. Elizabeth of York.

C.—HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND BEAUFORT.

EDWARD III.

John of Gaunt=(3) Katherine Swynford.

Born out of wedlock; legitimated 1397.

John Beaufort, created E. of Somerset 1397, and Marquess of Dorset 1398, d. 1410.

Henry B., Bishop of Lincoln 1398, Bishop of Winchester 1405, Cardinal of S. Eusebius 1426, d. 1447.

Thomas B., created E. of Dorset 1411, and D. of Exeter, 1416, d. 1427.

Joan B., d. 1440; m. (2) Ralph Neville, 1st E. of Westmoreland. (*Vide* Table of Neville Family.)

Henry B., 2nd E. of Somerset, d. 1418.

John B., created D. of Somerset 1443, d. 1444.

Edmund B., created Marquess of Dorset 1442, D. of Somerset 1448, killed at St. Albans 1455.

Joan B., m. James I. of Scotland.

Margaret B., m. Thomas Courtenay, 5th E. of Devon.

Margaret B., =Edmund Tudor, d. 1509; m. (3) Thomas, Lord Stanley, d. 1456.

Henry B., 2nd D. of Somerset, beheaded at Hexham 1464.

Edmund B., called D. of Somerset (and recognised as such by Lancastrian Government of 1471), beheaded at Tewkesbury 1471.

John B., killed at Tewkesbury 1471.

Margaret B.

Margaret=Humphrey, E. of Stafford, slain at St. Albans, 1455.

Henry VII., b. 1457, d. 1509; m. Elizabeth of York. (See Table B.)

Henry Stafford, 2nd D. of Buckingham, beheaded 1483; m. Katherine Woodville.

D.—HOUSE OF CLARENCE, MORTIMER, AND YORK.

EDWARD III.

Lionel, D. of Elizabeth
Clarence,
d. 1368.

Edmund of Isabel, dau.
of Pedro
the Cruel
of Castile.
D. of York,
d. 1402.

Philippa of Clarence=Edmund Mortimer, E. of March.

Roger M., E. of March,
slain in Ire-
land, 1398.

Eleanor, dau.
of Thomas
Holland,
D. of Kent.

Edmund M.

John M.

Eliz. M., m.
Sir Henry
Percy
(Hotspur).
^

Edward, 2nd
D. of York,
killed at
Agincourt.

Edmund M.,
E. of March,
d. 1424.

Roger M.,
d. young.

Eleanor M.,
m. Sir Edward
Courtenay.

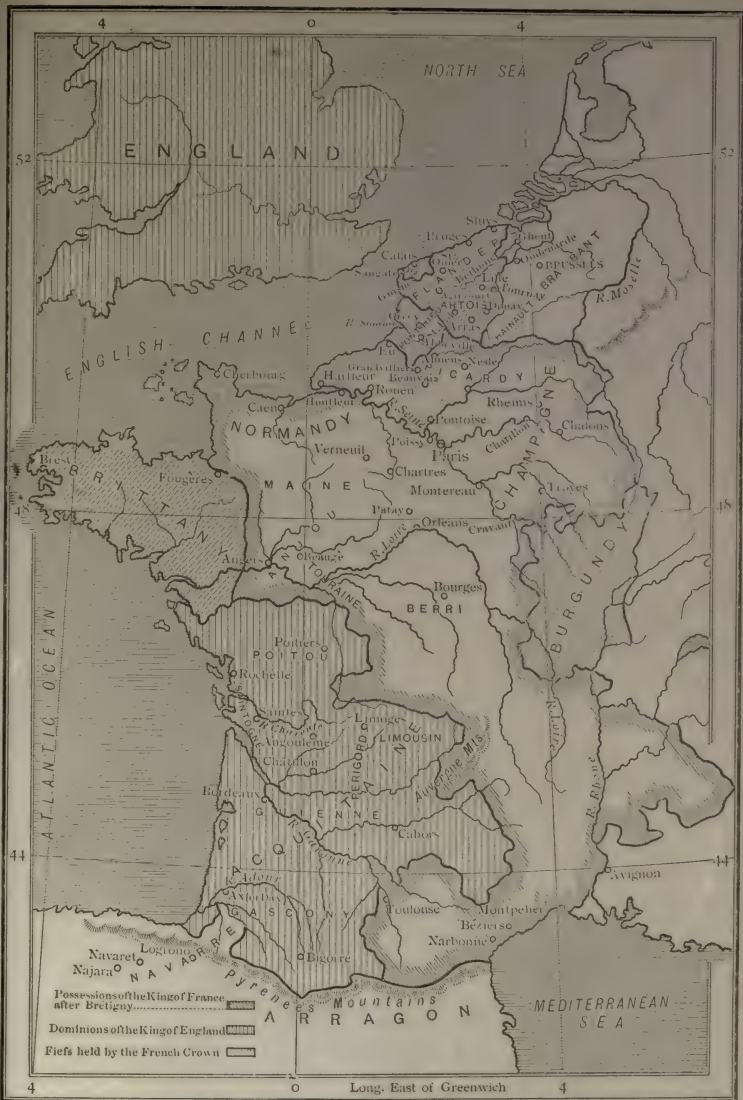
Anne M.=Richard of Conisburgh,
Earl of Cambridge,
beheaded 1415.

Richard, D. of York,
killed at Wakefield.
(See Table E.)

Isabel, m.
Henry Bourchier
E. of Essex.

1481

MAPS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO ILLUSTRATE
THE PERIOD 1399 TO 1485



MAPS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO ILLUSTRATE
THE PERIOD 1399 TO 1485

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PART II

INTRODUCTION

1450-1485. *THE WARS OF THE ROSES*

IN 1450 England was ripe for civil war. The disorder and lawlessness prevailing in the country has already been mentioned in the Introduction to Part I.

The wars which broke out soon after were but an example on a gigantic scale of the private warfare already so common between the great nobles. The people were not directly concerned therein, nor were national interests at stake. The towns took no part, nor did they suffer as in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, for there were no great sieges.

Roughly speaking, the Lancastrians were supported in the North and Western counties, and the Yorkists in London and the South-eastern counties, the backward parts of the country ranging themselves against the forward. The geographical division is not unlike that in the civil wars of the seventeenth century.

The Wars of the Roses were based on a personal quarrel. Great lord was pitted against great lord. The opposing armies were composed of bands of their liveried retainers. These were moved to follow

the banner of York and of Lancaster by ties of kinship, private grudges, or family feuds. Treachery of the basest kind was common on both sides.

The most conspicuous figure in the first half of the struggle was Richard Neville, who, inheriting through his wife, Anne Beauchamp, the vast heritage of the Beauchamps, was created Earl of Warwick in 1450. The part played by Warwick was typical of the times. The Neville family,* of which he was practically, though not nominally, the head, was the greatest in wealth, influence, and numbers of the noble houses. A bitter family feud had existed between the elder and younger branch of the Neville family since the days when Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, had alienated lands in Yorkshire claimed as the heritage of his heir by his first wife, Margaret of Stafford, to the children of his second wife, Joan of Beaufort. Skirmishes and bloodshed had resulted.† Fuel was added to the feud thus begun by the marriage of Ralph Neville, second Earl of Westmoreland; with a daughter of Hotspur. The elder Nevilles espoused the Percies' quarrel in a long-standing quarrel against the Nevilles, their neighbours and rivals in the Northern counties. When the civil wars opened, the elder branch of the Nevilles and the Percies declared for Henry VI., and Warwick, his father Salisbury, and his kin, for York. Warwick was, moreover, bound by close ties of kinship to the House of York, for Cecily Neville, his aunt, was married to Richard, Duke of York. All these ties were, however, not sufficient to preserve Warwick's

* *Vide* table of Neville family appended.

† *Vide* Nos. 8 (1) and (2).

loyalty to Edward IV., when he found that he no longer held the first place in the King's favour.

There are four well-marked stages in the progress of events from 1450 to 1485 :

- (1) 1450-1461. The beginning of the war to the overthrow of Henry VI.
- (2) 1461-1471. The accession of Edward IV. to death of Warwick.
- (3) 1471-1483. The triumph of Edward IV. to his death.
- (4) 1483-1485. Accession of Edward V. to the defeat and death of Richard III. at Bosworth Field.

(1) 1450-1461.—The struggle began with the return of Richard of York from Ireland and of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, from France. Both made a bid for power. Somerset was successful in gaining the first place in the king's favour, and York, marching at the head of an army from Shrewsbury to demand Somerset's dismissal, was forced to submit and swear anew his allegiance to the king.*

In October, 1453, Edward, Prince of Wales, was born, and soon after, Henry's illness made the appointment of a Protector necessary. York was appointed Protector by Parliament, and by him Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower. York's triumph was short-lived. On the king's recovery at Christmas, 1454, York was dismissed and Somerset released and restored to power.

Civil war broke out in the same year (1455) with Richard of York's victory at St. Albans, where his

* *Vide* extract No. 16.

rival Somerset was slain and the King taken prisoner. Henry fell ill again in 1456, and York was again made Protector. The leadership of the Lancastrians after the death of Somerset was assumed by Queen Margaret. From the beginning of the struggle she made the mistake of being a mere partisan. 'She would have done better,' says Comines, 'to have assumed the position of a judge or a mediator between the parties than to say, "I will support this or that side."'

Already in 1457 she was intriguing with France for help against the Yorkists; and in August of that year a French force landed at Sandwich, sacked the town, and ravaged the surrounding country.

After a lull in open hostilities for two years, a formal but hollow reconciliation of parties was brought about at St. Paul's in 1458. In the following year war broke out anew.* The Yorkists won the victory at Bloreheath, but were routed and dispersed at Ludford a few days later. The leaders, however, having rallied their forces, landed at Sandwich in June, 1460, met and defeated Margaret's army at Northampton,† and took the 'puppet King' Henry prisoner again. York marched to London and put forward his claim to the crown. The compromise arranged by the peers, by which the succession was to pass to York and his heirs, thus disinheriting her son, spurred Margaret to fresh efforts. She gathered an army in the North, a rabble of savages, who plundered the country as they marched South, thus alienating from the Lancastrian cause such popular support as it had pre-

* *Vide* No 15.

† *Vide* No. 18.

viously possessed. With this army she defeated the Yorkists at Wakefield, where Richard of York and his second son, the Earl of Rutland, were slain.*

The Queen followed up this victory by another at St. Albans, where the Yorkists were completely routed and the King released. Then, not daring to bring her undisciplined army into London, she retreated to York. Edward, Earl of March, who had in the meanwhile been victorious at the Battle of Mortimer's Cross on the Welsh borders, marched to London, and, joining forces with Warwick, entered the city and claimed the crown.

(2) 1461-1471.—These years were spent by Edward in securing his position. In March Margaret rallied the Lancastrian forces in Yorkshire, and Edward hurried from London to meet them. The battles of Ferry Bridge and Towton, fought on March 28 and 29, were the fiercest and most hardly contested in the war. The forces brought by both sides were enormous, and those slain on the field numbered 28,000.†

Edward IV. followed up these victories by reducing the Northern strongholds of Bamborough, Alnwick, etc., and finally crushed his enemies in the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham in 1464. Henry VI. was captured and imprisoned in the Tower, and Margaret fled to France. Edward's position seemed assured.

The turning-point of the period was the King's marriage in 1464 with Elizabeth Woodville, and the subsequent promotion of the Queen's relatives, which led to the estrangement of Warwick and his with-

* *Vide* No. 21.

† *Vide* Extract, No. 25.

drawal from Court. The Rivers and Woodvilles were raised by Edward to rank and high offices with the deliberate intention of creating a counterpoise to Warwick's immense influence.

Warwick soon forgot his devotion to the Yorkist cause in the bitterness of his hatred of his rivals at Court. Before long the King-maker was plotting to unseat the king whom he had set on the throne. He intrigued with the Duke of Clarence, and at the Battle of Edgecote in 1469 took the king prisoner, but shortly after released him, and a reconciliation was effected. In the following spring Warwick and Clarence were again in revolt. Their followers being routed at Losecoat Field, they fled to France, where, through the agency of Louis XI., they allied themselves with Margaret. Reinforced by French aid, they landed at Dartmouth in September, 1470, and Edward fled to Burgundy.

He returned in the spring of 1471, landed at Ravenspur, and, collecting forces as he marched South, defeated Warwick at the Battle of Barnet. Warwick was slain; Clarence had again betrayed his companions, and had gone over to his brother before the battle. Margaret, whose arrival in England had been delayed by contrary winds, landing at Weymouth two days later, was defeated at Tewkesbury and her son Edward killed.

(3) 1471-1483.—Edward was now superior to his enemies. The power, wealth, and numbers of the great lords were destroyed. These years are filled with the wearisome rivalries of the King's brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, which ended in 1478 with the mysterious death of the former.

From 1475 to 1483 Edward ruled absolutely. Parliament only met once for one short session in 1478.

Order being established at home, Edward was able to take up the threads of foreign policy. In 1474 he made an alliance with Charles of Burgundy against Louis XI., and in 1475 set out with a vast army to invade France in co-operation with his ally. Edward's arrival was inopportune. Burgundy was already involved in difficulties. He had just received his first check at the siege of Neuss. Louis XI. seized the chance to treat with Edward. A meeting between the two Kings was arranged at Pecquigny, and a treaty signed there. Edward agreed to forego his claim to the French crown in return for a substantial pension from the French King, and the promise of a marriage alliance between his daughter Elizabeth and the Dauphin. In September, 1475, Edward led his army back to England after a profitable if inglorious campaign. The breaking of the marriage contract by Louis in 1483, and the cessation of the pension, were a grievous disappointment to Edward, and were said to have caused his death.

(4) 1483-1485.—On Edward's death party struggles broke out again. On the one hand were the queen-mother, Earl Rivers and their party; on the other, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, supported by the Duke of Buckingham. The result was a foregone conclusion. Gloucester would not brook the interference of the queen-mother. By his *coup-d'état* of June 13, the arrest and execution of Hastings and the execution of Rivers and Grey, he cleared his way to the throne, where, had he not made the fatal mistake of murdering his unfortunate nephews, he might have main-

tained his position. Buckingham's revolt in the following autumn, though easily suppressed, was the forerunner of the greater conspiracy in favour of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond.

Richmond landed at Milford Haven in August, 1485. The king drew up his host near Bosworth to oppose his advance. Though his numbers far exceeded Richmond's before the battle, the open desertion of the Stanleys, and the withdrawal from the field of the Earl of Northumberland, made defeat inevitable. Richard, whatever were his faults, showed himself no coward in the battlefield. With his death and the union of the claims of the Houses of York and Lancaster in the person of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, by his marriage with Elizabeth of York, the Wars of the Roses ended.

ENGLISH HISTORY FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

1450—1485

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

1

RIVALRY BETWEEN THE DUKES OF YORK AND SOMERSET.

[The Duke of York complained to the king of an attempt, made at the instigation of the Duke of Somerset, to prevent his coming to London from Ireland.]

King Henry's Answer to the Duke of York.

1450, 1451.

'Paston Letters,' i., p. lxi. [English contemporary, modernized and shortened.]

Cousin, we have seen the bill that ye took us late, and also understand the good humble obedience that ye in yourself show unto us. We will declare you now our intent in these matters. Sith it is that a long time among the people hath been upon you many strange language and in especial after their disordinate and unlawful slaying of the Bishop of Chichester,* divers and many of the untrue shipmen and other said, in their manner, words against our estate, making menace to our own person, by your sayings, that ye should be fetched with many thou-

* Extract No. 71, in Part I.

sands and ye should take upon you that which ye neither ought nor as we doubt not, ye will not attempt.

Wherefore we sent to divers of our courts and places to hearken and take heed if any such manner coming were, and if there had been, for to resist it: but coming into our land our true subject as ye did, our intent was not that ye nor none of your servants should not have been letted nor warned, but in goodly wise received: howbeit that peradventure your sudden coming, without certain warning, caused our servants to do as they did, considering the causes above said. Upon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, refute, and admit you as our true and faithful subject and as our faithful cousin.

2

THE DUKE OF YORK PETITIONS FOR THE BETTER
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

*News Letter from William Wayte, Clerk to Justice
Yelverton, to John Paston, dated October 6.*

1450. 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 113. [English
spelling modernized.]

Sir, and it please, I was in my Lord of York's house. My Lord was with the king and he visaged so the matter that all the king's household was and is afeard right sore: and my said Lord hath put a bill* to the King and desired much thing, which is much after the Commons desire and all is upon

* For the text of the Duke of York's petition, *vide* 'Paston Letters,' i., No. 114.

justice, and to put all those that been indicted under arrest without surety or mayn price, and to be tried by law as law will : in so much that on Monday, Sir William Oldhall was with the king at Westminster more than two hours and had of the King good cheer.

3

CONTROL OF THE ELECTIONS BY THE YORKISTS.

Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to John Paston, dated October 16.

1450. 'Paston Letters,' i., No. 119. [English.]

And forasmuch as our uncle of York and we have fully appointed and agreed of two persons for to be knights of shires of Norfolk, as our said uncle and we think convenient and necessary for the welfare of the said shire, we therefore pray you, in our said uncle's name and ours both, as ye list to stand in the favour of our good lordship, that ye make no labour contrary to our desires. And God have you in His keeping.

4 (I)

LOCAL WAR IN NORFOLK.

Quarrel between Lord Moleyns and John Paston.

[In 1448 Lord Moleyns seized the Manor of Gresham, belonging to John Paston, who retaliated by taking possession of a house in Norwich belonging to Lord Moleyns. In January, 1450, Lord Moleyns retook it by force.]

1448-1451. 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 77. [English contemporary, modernized and shortened.]

Lord Moleyns sent to the said mansion a riotous people to the number of 1,000 persons arrayed in

manner of war, with cuirasses, brigantines,* jacks,† salets,‡ glaives,§ bows, arrows, pavyse,|| guns, pans with fire, long crows to draw down houses, ladders, picks, with which they mined down the walls and long trees with which they broke up gates and doors, and so came into the said mansion, the wife of your beseecher¶ at that time being therein and 12 persons with her: the which persons they drove out of the said mansion and mined down the wall of the chamber wherein the wife of your beseecher was and broke up all the chambers and coffers, and rifled and in manner of robbery bare away all the stuff array and money there.

4 (2)

LORD MOLEYNS' ACQUITTAL.

Letter to John Paston, May 2, 1451.

May, 1451. 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 153. [English modernized, shortened.]

Master Paston, we commend us to you, letting you wit, that the Sheriff is not so whole as he was, for now he will show but a part of his friendship. Also the sheriff informed us that he hath writing from the king, that he shall make such a panel to acquit the Lord Moleyns. And also he told us the sheriff will panel gentlemen to acquit the lord, and jurors to acquit his men: and we suppose it is by the motion and means of the other party.

* A kind of mail-coat.

|| Large shields.

† Padded leather coats.

¶ *I.e.*, Margaret Paston, the petitioner.

‡ Light helmets.

§ Swords.

5

THOMAS YONGE'S PROPOSAL THAT THE DUKE OF
YORK SHOULD BE RECOGNISED HEIR TO THE
THRONE.

1451. W. of Worcester, 'Annales,' p. 770. [Latin contemporary.]

In the same Parliament Thomas Yonge [of] Bristol, an apprentice in law, moved that because the king had no issue it would be for the safety of the kingdom that common agreement should be made who should be heir apparent. And he nominated the Duke of York. For which reason the said Thomas was afterwards committed to the Tower of London.

6

THE DUKE OF YORK MARCHES ON LONDON.

1452. 'A Short English Chronicle,' p. 69. [English modernized, contemporary.]

This year, Richard, Duke of York, came out of Wales* by Kingston bridge unto the Black Heath, with a great power to clear himself against King Henry of all manner points that the King was his heavy lord for. And the king came riding through London with a royal power against the said duke. And there the Lords both spiritual and temporal

* *Vide* the Duke of York's manifesto to the citizens of Shrewsbury, February 3, 1452 (Ellis, 'Original Letters,' 2nd series, i., pp. 11-13). For the petition for the removal of Somerset and others from the King's Court, *vide* Trevelyan Papers, Camden Society, p. 50.

took the matter in hand, and entreated them of rest and peace : the which the said duke at the last agreed to on this condition, that his petitions for the weal of the king and the realm might be had, and his enemies to the Tower to abide the law. Anon the duke sent home his men again, and himself meekly obeyed the king, and his adversaries stood present contrary the appointment and oaths. And so they brought him through London ungirt between two Bishops to his own place, and after that made him swear on the Sacrament at Paul's after their intent and put him from his good petitions.

7

THE KING'S ILLNESS—STATE OF PARTIES.

News Letter from John Stodeley, dated January 19, 1454.

January, 1454. 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 195. [English, modernized and shortened.]

As touching tidings, please it you to wit that at the Prince's* coming to Windsor, the Duke of Buckingham took him in his arms and presented him to the king in goodly wise, beseeching the king to bless him, and the king gave no manner answer. Natheless the duke abode still with the prince by the king : and when he could no manner answer have, the queen came in and took the prince in her arms and presented him in like form as the duke had done, desiring that he should bless it : but all their labour was in vain, for they departed thence without any answer or countenance, saving only that once he

* Prince Edward, born October 13, 1453.

looked on the prince and cast down his eyes again without any more.

Item, the Cardinal* hath charged all his servants



WARWICK THE KING-MAKER.

to be ready with bows and arrows, sword and buckler, crossbows, and all other habiliments of war such as they can meddle, to await upon the safeguard of his

* JOHN KEMP, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury.

person. Item, the Earl of Wiltshire* and the Lord Bonvile have done to be cried at Taunton in Somersetshire that every man that is likely and will go with them and serve them, shall have 6d. every day as long as he abideth with them.

Item, the Earl of Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont, Poynings Clifford, Egremont,† and Bonvile maken all the puissance they can and may, to come hither with them.

Item, the Duke of Buckingham hath do to be made 2,000 bands with knots,‡ to what intent men may construe as their wits will give them.

Item, the Duke of Somerset's harbinger hath taken up all the lodging that may be gotten near the Tower, in Thames Street, Mart Lane,§ Saint Katherine's, Tower Hill and thereabout.

Item, the queen hath made a bill of five articles, wherof the first is that she desireth to have the whole rule of this land; the second is that she may make the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Privy Seal and all other officers that the king should make; the third is that she may give all the bishoprics of this land; the fourth is that she may have sufficient livelode|| assigned her for the king and the prince and herself. But as for the fifth article, I cannot yet know what it is.

Item, the Duke of York will be at London justly on Friday [January 25] next, coming at night, and he will come with his household meynee, cleanly

* James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

† Thomas Percy, third son of the Duke of Northumberland.

‡ *I.e.*, badges for his followers.

§ *I.e.*, now Mark Lane.

|| *I.e.*, lands or rents yielding income.

beseen and likely men. And the Earl of March cometh with him, but he will have another fellowship of good men that shall be at London before him, and such jacks, salets and other harness as his meynee shall have, shall come to London with them or before them in carts. The Earl of Salisbury will be at London on Monday or Tuesday next, coming with seven score knights and squires beside other meynee. The Earls of Warwick, Richmond, and Pembroke come with the Duke of York, as it is said, every each of them with a goodly fellowship. And natheless the Earl of Warwick will have 1,000 men beside the fellowship that cometh with him. And as Geoffrey Poole saith, the king's brethren be like to be arrested at their coming to London, if they come.

The Duke of Somerset hath spies going in every lord's house of this land, some gone as friars, some as shipmen taken on the sea, and some in otherwise; which report unto him all that they can see or hear touching the said Duke.

8 (I)

POLITICS OF THE NEVILLE FAMILY.

[The Neville family was the most powerful as well as the most numerous of the noble families of the age. (*Vide* Genealogical table of Nevilles.) During the Wars of the Roses, Nevilles are to be found ardent partisans on both sides. Ralph Neville of Raby, first Duke of Westmoreland (d. 1425), married twice. By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Stafford, he had nine children; by his second, Joan of Beaufort (daughter of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford), he had fourteen. The younger branch of the family far exceeded the elder, both in wealth and distinction. Jealousy first sprang up

between them owing to Ralph Neville having bequeathed a large share of the Raby lands to his Countess Joan, thus alienating them from the elder branch of the family. Open warfare between the two families broke out during the lifetime of the Countess Joan. The parties were ordered by Henry VI. to desist, and to appear before him.]

Letter from King Henry VI., Bentley, 'Excerpta Historica,' pp. 1-3.* [English modernized.]

By the King.

Worshipful father in God, Right trusty and well-beloved, we have now heard and well understand unto our great displeasance of certain misgovernances and debates late moved and stirred betwixt our cousin, the Earl of Westmoreland and John Neville and Thomas Neville on the one party and our cousins, the Countess of Westmoreland the Earl of Salisbury and the lord Latimer on the other party. Of the which divers, either against the other, by manner of war and insurrection have late assembled great routs and companies upon the field and done further more other great and horrible offences as well in slaughter and destruction of our people as otherwise, the which thing is greatly against our estate and the weal of peace of this our Realm, and also expressly against our laws, whereof also the subversion of politic governance and other great inconveniences and mischiefs be like to follow, which God forbid and defend in our days.

[The parties were ordered to desist, and to appear in person at Hilarytide following before the king, 'wheresoever we shall be within this our Royaume.']

* The letter is undated. It was written, probably, shortly before 1440, when Joan, Countess of Westmoreland, died.

8 (2)

1453. W. of Worcester, 'Annales,' p. 770.
[Latin contemporary.]

[The hostility between the two branches of the Neville family was increased by the marriage of Ralph, second Earl of Westmoreland, with the daughter of Henry Hotspur. He then espoused the Percies' side in their quarrel with the Nevilles.]

In the month of August Thomas Neville, son of the Earl of Salisbury, married the niece of Lord Cromwell at Tattershall in the county of Lincoln. And when he was returning after the wedding, a skirmish took place between the said Earl and Thomas Percy, Lord of Egremont,* near York. This was the beginning of very great troubles in England.

[Private warfare raged for more than a year in the counties of York and Northumberland between the Nevilles, headed by John, second son of the Earl of Salisbury (afterwards Lord Montagu, *vide* Neville Table), and Egremont. During his protectorate the Duke of York went in person to bring about reconciliation. This he effected, but the Percies were not satisfied, and the settlement served as another reason for taking the Lancastrian side in the coming wars.]

9

RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, MADE PROTECTOR.
ARREST OF THE DUKE OF SOMERSET.

1454. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 78. [English modernized, c. 1461-1471.]

During the king's sickness the Duke of York was made Protector of England, whereof the Duke [of

* Egremont was third son of Henry, second Earl of Northumberland.

Somerset] had great indignation, and always maligned against him and stirred the king against him: nevertheless, many of the lordes of the council favoured more the Duke of York than him. Wherefore for certain causes and articles that were laid against the said Duke of Somerset, he was committed by the said council to the Tower of London; but by instance and mediation of his friends he was delivered, under this condition, that he should never after entremete [interfere] nor have ado with the governance of the realm, and that he should not come nigh the king by twenty mile. When he was delivered out of the Tower, he took more upon him than he did before.*

10

THE KING'S RECOVERY.

*Letter from Edmund Clere to John Paston,
January 9, 1455.*

Christmas, 1454.

'Paston Letters,' i., No. 226.
[English modernized.]

Blessed be God, the king is well amended, and hath been since Christmas Day, and on St. John's Day [December 27] commanded his almoner to ride to Canterbury with his offering and commanded the secretary to offer at St. Edward's.†

And on the Monday afternoon [December 29] the Queen came to him and brought my Lord Prince with her. And then he asked what the Prince's

* Somerset was kept a prisoner for fourteen months, until the King's recovery.

† *I.e.*, at the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey.

name was, and the Queen told him, Edward; and then he held up his hands and thanked God therof. And he said he never knew till that time, nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been whiles he hathe been sick till now. And he saith he is in charity with all the world, and so he would his lords were.

11

THE BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

May 21, 1455.

'Archæologia,' xx., p. 519.° [English contemporary, modernized and shortened.]

Henry VI.'s Answer to the Duke of York's demand for the dismissal of the Duke of Somerset and other Lords.

'I, King Harry, charge and command that no manner person of what degree or state or condition that ever he be, abide not, but void the field, and not be so hardy [as] to make any resistance against me in my own realme: for I shall know what traitor dare be so bold to raise a people in mine own land, where through I am in great disease and heaviness. And rather then they shall have any Lord here with me at this time, I shall this day for their sake and in this quarrel myself live or die.'

[The Duke of York and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury then began the assault of the town in three places.]

The King being then in the place of Edmond Westley, hundredor of the said town of St. Albans,

* *Vide* also 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 239.

commandeth to slay all manner men of lordes, knights and squires and yeomen that might be taken of the forsaid Dukes of York. This done, Lord Clifford kept strongly the barriers that the said Duke of York might not in any wise enter and break into the town. The Earl of Warwick knowing thereof, took and gathered his men together and fiercely brake in by the garden sides between the signe of the Keye and the sign of the Chequer in Holwelle street: and anon as they were within the town, suddenly they blew up trumpets and set a cry with a shout and a great voice, 'A Warrewe! a Warrewyk! a Warrewyk!' and unto that time the Duke of York might never have entry into the town: and they with strong hand kept it and mightily fought together, and anon forthwith after the breaking in, they set on them manfully. And of lords of name were slain the Lord Clifford, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Nothumberland. And at this same time were hurt Lords of name, the King, our Sovereign Lord, in the neck with an arrow, the Duke of Buckingham with an arrow in the visage. The Earl of Wiltshire, Thorpe* and many other fled and left their harness behind them

* Thomas Thorpe, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, and chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in March, 1453. He was an ardent Lancastrian. In November, 1453, having seized some arms, etc., belonging to the Duke of York, he was convicted of trespass and imprisoned in the Fleet Prison. The Commons claimed his release, urging that the arrest of their Speaker was breach of privilege. The Peers, before whom the case was tried, refused to grant his release, 'the privelege of Parliament notwithstanding,' and the Commons, accepting their decision, elected another Speaker in his place.

cowardly, and the substance of the King's party were despoiled of horse and harness. This done, the said lords, that is to wit, the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, come to the King, and on their knees besought him of grace and forgiveness of that they had done in his presence and besought him of his Highness to take them as his true liegemen, saying that they never intended hurt to his own person, and therefore the King took them to grace, and so desired them to cease their people and that there should be no more harm done: and they obeyed his commandment, and so ceased the said battle, Deo gratias. And on the morrow the King and the said Duke with other certain Lords, come into the Bishop's of London and there kept residence with joy and solemnity, concluding to hold the parliament at London the 9th day of July next coming.

12

THE FRENCH SACK SANDWICH.

August, 1457.

Brief notes in 'Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles,' pp. 152, 153. [Latin contemporary.]

On the 5th of the Kalends of September [August 28], about four o'clock in the morning, came Frenchmen, pirates and enemies with a great host—about 15,000 men, with ships—and landed at the town of Sandwich, distant seven miles from Canterbury. Of these, 7,000 marched two or three miles inland, holding the said town until the rest of their company entered it and slew the bailiffs, ministers or rectors of the town and many other wealthy men in the country, and

all that Sunday, until nightfall, they plundered the whole town of jewels and goods found there, carrying them to their ships in carts and wains; and they took with them many rich men and their wives and other women, and fled* leaving the town in great poverty and misery. And at the same time they took two galleys laden with merchandise of divers kinds intended for London and for Stourbridge Fair; but they slew the crews and cast their bodies into the sea, and took the galleys.

13 (I)

FORMAL RECONCILIATION OF PARTIES.

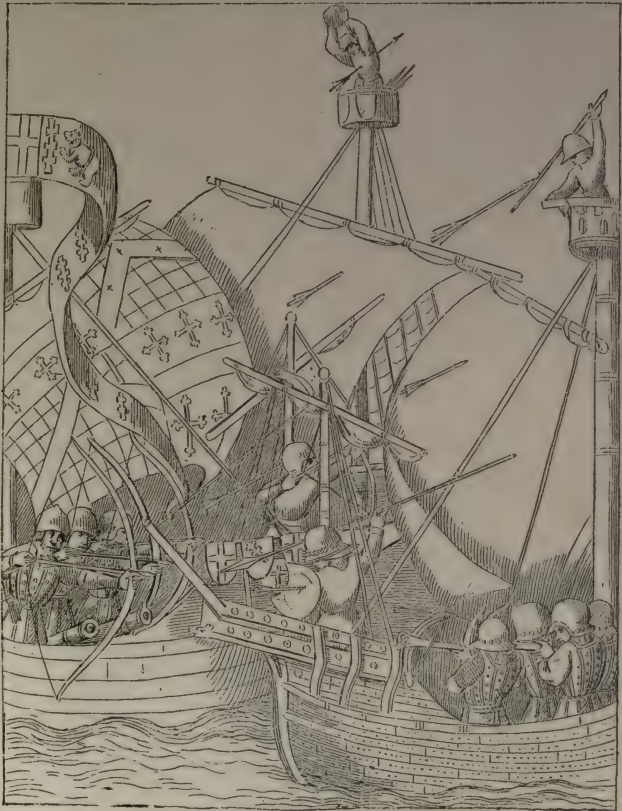
1458. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 77. [English modernized, c. 1461-1471.]

Afterward, this same year, was holden a Council at Westminster about Shrovetide, to the which came the young lords whose fathers were slain at St. Albans, that is to say, the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and his brother, Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford, with a great power, and were lodged without the walls of London about Temple Bar and Westminster. The city would not receive them because they came against the peace.† The Duke of York and the Earl of Salisbury came, but only with their household men in peaceable manner, thinking none harm, and were lodged within the city. And soon after came the Earl of Warwick

* *Vide* 'Short English Chronicle,' p. 71: 'The country came down and drove them away, and in their fleeing were drowned more than six score men of the French party.'

† *Vide* 'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 313.

from Calais, whereof he was captain,* and lay within the city. Then the Bishops and other lords treated



A SEA-FIGHT.

betwixt them of the peace and accord, and after long treat both parties submitted them to the arbitrament

* Appointed Captain of Calais in May, 1455.

of the King and his Council, the which gave this award: that £45 of yearly rent should be amortised* and founded for evermore by the said Duke of York and the Earls, in the Abbey of St. Albans, where the forsaied lords so slain were buried, for to pray for their souls, and for the souls of all those that were slain there.

[They were also required to pay a sum to the sons of the slain lords 'for recompense of their fathers' death.']

Whereupon was made writing and surety: and so was the trouble ceased and peace and accord made between them, but it endured not long.

[After the award, the reconciled parties went in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral, the king marching in state, wearing his crown.]

13 (2)

March, 1458.

Verses from a contemporary ballad by John Lydgate. *Vide* 'Political Poems,' ed. Wright, ii., p. 254.

Now is sorrow with shame fled into Fraunce,
As a felon that hathe forsworn this londe;
Love hathe put out malicious governance,
In every place both free and bonde.
In Yorke, in Somerset, as I understonde,
In Warrewike, is love and charité,
In Sarisbury eke, and in Northumbrelande,
That every man may rejoyce concorde and unité.

At Poulest† in Londoun, with great renown,
On our Lady day in Lent this peace was wrought;
The king, the queen, with lordes many one,
To worship that virgin as they ought,

* *I.e.*, alienated in mortmain.

† *I.e.*, St. Paul's.

Wenten a procession, and spariden right nought,
 In sight of all the comynalté,
 In token that love was in heart and thought ;
 Rejoice, Anglond, in concord and unité,

14 (I)

THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE COURT.

1458, 1459.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 79.
 [English modernized, c. 1461-1471.]

In this same time, the realm of England was out of all good governance, as it had been many days before, for the king was simple and led by covetous counsel, and owed more than he was worth. His debts increased daily, but payment was there none ; all the possessions and lordships that pertained to the crown the king had given away—some to lords and some to other simple persons, so that he had almost nought to live on:*

And such impositions as were put to the people as taxes, tallages, and fifteenths, all that came from them was spent in vain, for he held no household nor maintained no wars.

For these misgovernances, and for many other, the hearts of the people were turned away from them that had the land in governance, and their blessing was turned into cursing. The queen, with such as were of her affinity ruled the realm as she liked, gathering riches innumerable. The officers of the

* *Vide* Gascoigne, 'Loci e Libro Veritatis,' p. 158, who says that the income from his lands was hardly worth £40 (*vide* Extract No. 53).

realm, and especially the Earl of Wiltshire, Treasurer of England, for to enrich themselves, pilled the poor people, and disherited rightful heirs, and did many wrongs.

14 (2)

Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle, p. 529.

[Latin contemporary.]

Meanwhile you might plainly see the public and intestine strife fermenting among the princes and nobles of the land, so that, in the words of the Gospel, 'Brother was divided against brother and father against father,' one party adhering to the king, the other being bound by ties of blood or service to the said Duke [of York], took his side. This strife existed, not only among the great lords and the people, but in every society, chapter, college, or convent; so that brother could not safely trust his brother, nor friend his friend.

15

THE BATTLE OF BLOREHEATH AND THE ROUT OF LUDFORD—FLIGHT OF THE YORKIST LORDS.

[The formal reconciliation proved a mere sham. In the early part of the year 1459 both parties were busy collecting forces and arms for a renewal of the struggle. The Duke of York was now clearly aiming at obtaining the succession for himself.]

September 23, 1459.

Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 204.

[English modernized contemporary.]

And this year was done a great journey* at the Blore Heath by the Earl of Salisbury and the queen's gallants. And that day the king made seven

* *I.e.*, day of battle.



HENRY VI. AND HIS COURT.
(From a Tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry.)

knights, and five of these knights were slain full manly in the field, and many men of yeomanry sore hurt. And the battle or journey lasted all the afternoon, from one of the clock till five after noon, and the chase lasted unto seven of the bell in the morning. And men were maimed many one in the queen's party.

There were in the queen's party 5,000, and in that other party 500, a great wonder that ever they might stand the great multitude not fearing, the king being within ten mile, and the queen within five mile, at the Castle of Egylllyssale [Eccleshall]. But the Earl of Salisbury had been i-take, save only a Friar Austin shot guns all that night in a park* that was at the back side of the field, and by this means the earl came to [the] Duke of York.†

Also all that season the Earl of Warwick with soldiers of Calais were coming unto the Duke of York, and he come overward Colsylle [Coleshill], beside Coventry, and the Duke of Somerset with his men rode along through the town, and yet none of them met with other as it happed, or by likelihood they would have made a new fray. And the same day Andrew Trollope‡ conceived that the Earl of Warwick was going unto the Duke of York, and not unto

* *I.e.*, an enclosure.

† At Ludlow.

‡ Sir Andrew Trollope, a veteran of the French wars, had accompanied Warwick with 600 picked troops from Calais. His defection did not take place until after Warwick had joined forces with York. The king reached Ludlow on October 12, and issued proclamations declaring York and Warwick and Salisbury traitors, and promising pardon to all of their followers who dispersed, save those who had fought at Bloreheath. On the following day Trollope went over to the king.

the king, and utterly forsook him and came to the king and was pardoned; and that made the duke full sore afraid when he wist that some old soldiers went from him unto the king.

And this same year there was a great affray at Ludlow between the King and the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury, the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of March. The Duke of York let make a great deep ditch, and fortified it with guns, carts, and stakes, but his party was overweak, for [with] the king was more than 30,000 harnessed men, beside naked* men that were compelled for to come with the king. And then the duke fled fro place to place in Wales, and break down the bridges after him, that the king's meynee should not come after him. And he went unto Ireland, and there he tarried till the journey was ended at Northampton.

16 (I)

THE CAPTURE OF LORD RIVERS BY WARWICK.

[After the attainder of the Yorkist lords Somerset was appointed to supersede Warwick as Captain of Calais. March, Warwick, and Salisbury fled to Calais, where they were admitted by Lord Fauconbridge; they held the place against Somerset. Lord Rivers was sent to aid Somerset.]

January, 1460.

Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 207.

But the Earl of Warwick came unto Sandwich, and there he took the Lord Rivers† with his lady

* *I.e.*, without armour.

† Sir Anthony Woodville, created Baron Rivers in 1448. He married Jacquetta, widow of John, Duke of Bedford, and was father of Edward IV.'s Queen, Elizabeth Woodville. He was created Earl Rivers in 1466 by Edward IV.

and Duchess of Bedford, and brought them to Calais; for he [Rivers] was commanded to have landed at Calais by the king, but he was brought there sooner than him liked.

16 (2)

*Letter from William Paston to John Paston,
January 30, 1460.*

'Paston Letters,' vol. i., No. 346.
[English modernized.]

As for tidings, my Lord Rivers was brought to Calais and before the lords with eight score torches, and there my Lord of Salisbury rated him, calling him knave's son, that he should be so rude as to call him and these other lords* traitors, for they shall be found the king's true liege men when he should be found a traitor. And my Lord of Warwick rated him and said that his father was but a squire, and brought up with King Harry V., and sithen himself made by marriage and also made lord; and that it was not his part to have such language of lords, being of the king's blood. And my Lord of March rated him in like wise.

17

THE YORKIST LORDS LAND IN KENT.

June, 1460. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, pp. 91-94.
[English modernized, c. 1461 - 1471,
shortened.]

When the Earls knew the true hearts of the people they disposed them daily for to come to this land.

* *I.e.*, the Earls of Warwick March. and other Yorkist refugees.

And not long before their coming this ballad was set upon the gates of the city of Canterbury :

Edward, Earl of March, whose fame the earth shall spread ;
 Richard, Earl of Salisbury, named prudence,
 With that noble knight and flower of manhood
 Richard, Earl of Warwick, shield of our defence ;
 Also little Falconbridge,* a knight of great reverence ;
 Jhesu them restore to their honour, as they had before ;
 And ever shall we sing to thine High Excellence,
 Gloria, laus et honor Tibi sit, Rex Christe, Redemptore.

Then the noble Earls, having wind and weather at their pleasance, arrived graciously at Sandwich, where they met with there Master Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and a great multitude of people with him, and with his cross before him he went forth with the said earls toward London. Then was a convocation of the clergy holden at Paul's in London, and thither came the said earls ; and there they made open oath upon the cross of Canterbury that they had ever bore true faith and allegiance to the king's person, willing no more hurt to him than to their own persons.

18

THE BATTLE OF NORTHAMPTON.

July 10, 1460.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 97.

[English modernized, c. 1461-1471.]

Then on Thursday, the 10th day of July, two hours after noon, the said Earls of March and Warwick let cry through the field, that no man should lay hand upon the King nor on the common people, but

* *Vide* Table of Neville family.

only on the lords, knights, and squires;* then the trumpets blew up and both hosts encountered and fought together half an hour. The Lord Gray,



HURSTMONCEAUX CASTLE, SUSSEX.

that was on the king's vanward, brake the field and came to the earls' party, which caused the salvation of many a man's life; and many were

* Cf. Comines, 'Mémoires,' liv. v., ch. xx.: 'In England neither the country nor the people are destroyed; the fortune of war falls only on the soldiers, and especially on the nobles.'

slain and many were fled and were drowned in the river [Nen].

[The king was taken prisoner and brought to London.]

When Queen Margaret heard tell that the King was discomfited and taken, she fled with her son and seven persons into the Castle of Hardlaghe [Harlech] in Wales; and as she went by Lancashire there she was robbed and despoiled of all her goods to the value of 10,000 marks.*

19 (I)

THE DUKE OF YORK CLAIMS THE THRONE.

October, 1460.

Whethamstede, vol. i., pp. 376,
377. [Latin, probably after
1465, shortened.]

But while the people wavered in doubt, and the Lord King with his Bishops and Barons and Commons sat in Parliament at Westminster, there came, almost at the beginning of the Parliament, the said Lord Duke of York with great pomp, not a little uplifted in spirit; for he came with trumpets and clarions, with armed men, and an exceeding great retinue of his household. On entering the palace he marched straight through the great hall until he came to the solemn chamber where the king is wont to hold his Parliament with his Commons. And when he had come there he walked up to the king's throne and putting his hand on the cushion, as a man taking possession of his own, and kept it there for a short

* For Margaret's adventures, *vide* Chastellain, vol. iv., liv. vi., pt. ii., ch. ix. and x., and No. 100.

space. At length withdrawing it he turned his face towards the people, standing quietly under the royal cloth of state awaited the applause of the onlookers. While he stood Master Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, approached him, and with due reverence asked him whether he wished to come and see the Lord King. To which he answered thus: 'I mind me of no one in this kingdom for whom it is not more fitting that he should come to me than I to him.' Whereon the Archbishop hastily withdrew and reported to the king the answer which he had heard from the duke's lips. Then the duke also withdrew to the principal chambers in the whole palace (as the king occupied the queen's apartment), and the bolts having been broken and the doors forcibly opened, he took up his abode there for some time in the manner of a king rather than of a duke. But when this presumptuous conduct was noised abroad, forthwith people of every estate and degree began to murmur against him.

19 (2)

WARWICK OPPOSES YORK'S CLAIM.

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. vi., liv. iii.,
ch. xxxiii., p. 314. [French contemporary.]

[When Warwick heard what had taken place, he asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to remonstrate with York. He refused, and Warwick went himself.]

He called Sir Thomas Neville and other of his men, entered his barge on the Thames, and went to the palace, which he found full of men-of-arms; and when he saw this he had no doubt but that the duke

meant to gain his end; nevertheless, the earl did not stop, but entered the duke's chamber, and found him there leaning against a sideboard. And when the duke saw him he approached and greeted him; and then there were hard words between them, for the earl showed the duke how ill-pleased the people were with him for having wished to strip the king of his crown. While they were speaking thus, came the Earl of Rutland and said to the Earl of Warwick, 'Fair cousin, be not angry, for you know it is our right to have the crown, and that it belongs to my lord father and he must have it.' To which the Earl of March, who was present, replied, saying: 'Brother, do not anger any man, for all will be well.'

After these words the Earl of Warwick understood well the Duke of York's intent, and he departed very ill pleased, taking leave of no one except the Earl of March; and he returned to London.

20

THE DUKE OF YORK'S CLAIM RECOGNISED BY PARLIAMENT.

October 16, 1460.

Rot. Parl., v., p. 377. [English
modernized contemporary,
shortened.]

[The Duke of York put in his claim to Parliament on October 16.]

On Saturday [October 24] it was shewed unto the lords by the mouth of the Chancellor* that the said Duke of York called busily to have hasty and speedy

* George Neville (*vide* Table of Neville family), appointed Chancellor July 25, 1460.

answer of such matters as touched his title above said; and how that forasmuch as it is thought by all the lords that the title of the said duke cannot be defected, and in eschewing of the great inconveniences that may ensue, a mean was found to save the king's honour and estate and to appease the said duke if he would, which is this: that the king shall keep the Crown and his estate and dignity royal during his life; and the said duke and his heirs to succeed him in the same; [the said Chancellor] exhorting and stirring all the said lords that if any of them could find any other or better mean, that it might be shewed. Wherupon, after sad and ripe communication, it was concluded to take the mean above rehearsed. All these premises thus shewed and opened to the king's highness, he, inspired with the grace of the Holy Ghost, and in eschewing the effusion of Christian blood, condescended to an accord to be made between him and the said duke, and to be authorized by the authority of this present Parliament.

21

THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD—THE RAVAGES OF
MARGARET'S NORTHERN ARMY.

1460. English Chronicle, ed. Davies, pp. 106, 107.
[English modernized, c. 1461-1471.]

This same year, in the month of December, the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire went into the North Country with 800 men; and anon after the said Duke of York, the Earl of Rutland, his son, and the Earl of Salisbury with a few persons went into the North also for to repress the

malice of the Northern men, the which loved not the said Duke of York, nor the Earl of Salisbury.

Then the Lord Neville,* brother to the Earl of Westmoreland, under a false colour went to the said Duke of York, desiring a commission of him for to raise a people for to chastise the rebels of the country, and the duke it granted, deeming that he had been true on his part. When he had his commission he raised to the number of 8,000 men, and brought them to the lords of the country, that is to say, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Clifford, and Duke of Somerset, that were adversaries and enemies to Duke Richard. And the last day of December they fell upon the said Duke Richard, and him killed and his son, the Earl of Rutland and many other knights and squires, and of other people to the number of 2,200. When the death of these lords was known, great sorrow was made for them, and anon, by the king's commandment, writs and commissions were sent to the sheriffs, and other officers, to raise people for to chastise the people and the rebels of the North. And they of the North hearing this, gathered privily a great people, and came down suddenly to the town of Dunstable, robbing all the country and people as they came, and spoiling abbeys and houses of religion, and churches, and bare away chalices, books, and other ornaments, as they had been paynims or Saracens, and no Christian men.†

* Sir John Neville. *Vide* Genealogical Table of the Nevilles, and No. 8 (1).

† *Vide* Whethamstede, vol. i., p. 388 *et seq.* The Abbey of St. Albans was plundered, and Abbot Whethamstede forced to disperse the monks.

22 (I)

THE SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

February 17, 1461.

English Chronicle, ed. Davies,
pp. 107, 108. [Shortened.]

The 12th day of February King Harry, with his lords—that is to say, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Warwick and of Arundel, the Lord Bonvile and other—went out of London and came with their people to the town of St. Albans, not knowing that the people of the North were so nigh. And when the king heard that they were so nigh him, he went out and took his field beside a little town called Sandridge, not far from St. Albans, in a place called No Man's Land, and there he stood and saw his people slain on both sides. And at the last, through the withdrawing of the Kentish men and their captain, and also by the undisposition of the people of the king's side,* that would not be guided nor governed by their captains, King Harry's part lost the field. The lords that were with the king, seeing this, withdrew them and went their way.†

* *I.e.*, the Yorkist party. The king had been in the hands of the Yorkists since the Battle of Northampton.

† *Vide* letter from George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, to Coppini (Venetian State Papers, i. 99): 'The loss on both sides amounts to wellnigh 3,000 men. We [*i.e.*, of the Yorkist army] however, fled, and lost that puppet of a king, whereupon the puppet was carried northward and the country ravaged.'



ST. ALBANS' ABBEY.

F. Frith and Co.

22 (2)

THE EXECUTION OF SIR THOMAS KYRIEL AFTER
THE SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. vi., liv. lxiii.,
ch. xlii., p. 329. [French contemporary.]

When the Earl of Warwick perceived that things were going ill, he bethought him to seek the king, but he could not for the people who were fleeing. And thus the king was taken under a great oak, where he was laughing greatly at what had occurred, and he begged those who came to him that they should do no hurt to the person of Monsieur Kyriel,* which they promised to do; but Lovelace, the disloyal traitor, led the king, Sir Thomas and his son to the queen, who was right glad to meet the king. Then she spoke to Sir Thomas Kyriel and his son, and called them traitors several times, to which the good knight replied: 'Greatly redoubted lady, never have I thought nor done treason, never has any ill-reproach touched me; it would grieve me much if, in my old age, I were so reputed.' At these words the queen looked at him very haughtily, and, swearing by her allegiance to the king that she would be revenged, she called her son, the Prince of Wales, and asked him: 'Fair son, by what manner of death shall these knights die?' And the young Prince answered that their heads should be chopped off. Whereat answered Sir Thomas, saying: 'May God punish whomsoever taught thee to speak thus.' And shortly afterwards their heads were cut off, which was great pity.

* The king was in the custody of Sir Thomas Kyriel and his son and Lord Bonville.

23

THE LANCASTRIANS WITHDRAW NORTHWARD—THE
EARL OF MARCH CLAIMS THE CROWN.*February, 1461.*Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 214.
[English modernized con-
temporary.]

And the King and Queen took their journey unto Yorkwards,* for they deemed that the Northern men would have been too cruel in robbing if they had come to London. But by the advice of Doctor Morton† they sent certain knights and men unto London and to Westminster, but they might not be suffered to enter into the town.

Then came tidings of the coming of the Earl of March unto London; then all the city were fain and thanked God, and said that

‘He that had London forsake
Wolde no more to hem take,’

and said: ‘Let us walk in a new vineyard, and let us make us a gay garden in the month of March with this fair white rose and herb, the Earl of March.’ And the Earl of Warwick met with the Earl of March beside Oxford, ten mile out of it, at a town of his own i-named Burford‡ upon the Wolde; for the Earl of March came from Wales, and was full sore afraid of the loss of the two fields that were lost before Wakefield, that one, and St. Albans that other,

* *Vide* W. of Worcester, p. 776: ‘This was the destruction of King Henry and his queen.’

† Morton, Bishop of Ely.

‡ *Vide* W. of Worcester. The Earl of March met Warwick at Chipping Norton, near Oxford.

and he sorrowed sore for his father, the Duke of York, and for his good brother, the Earl of Rutland, and for all other lords and commons.

There the Earl of Warwick informed him of the guiding and disposition of King Harry and of the queen, and of the love and favour that the commons had unto him, and by right to occupy the crown of England, and so his heart was somewhat made glad and comforted. But he was sorry that he was so poor, for he had no money, but the substance of his meynée came at their own cost.

Also the 26th day of February next following, Edward, Earl of March, came to London out of Wales, and the Earl of Warwick with him, and 40,000 men with them both, and they entered unto the city of London, and there he took upon him the crown of England by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the election of the commons.

'THE PROSPEROUS REIGN OF KING EDWARD IV.'

24

THE BATTLE OF FERRYBRIDGE.

March 28, 1461.

Hearne's Fragment, 'Chronicles of White Rose,' p. 8. [English modernized contemporary.]

John, Duke of Norfolk, went into his county with all diligence to prepare for the war on the part of King Edward. And on the Saturday next following the Earl of Warwick, with a great band of men, departed out of London, northward; on the Wednesday next following, the King's footmen in a great number, of the which the most part were Welshmen and Kentish men. Then the Friday ensuing the King Edward issued out of the city in goodly order at Bishopsgate, then being the 12th day of March, and held on his journey following these others, and when the foreprickers came to Ferrybridge, there was a great skirmish,* whereat John Radclif, then Lord Fitzwalter, was slain, and thereupon they ever advanced themselves till they came to Towton, eight miles out of York, upon a Friday night, abiding the residue of their company, the which were assembled in good order on the Saturday, then being Palm Sunday Eve.

* *Vide* letter from George Neville to Coppini (Venetian State Papers, i. 99): 'The enemy [*i.e.*, Lancastrians] had broken the ferry bridge [over the river Aire], and, occupying the narrow raft which our people had constructed, they stoutly disputed its passage; but we carried it, sword in hand.'

25

BATTLE OF TOWTON.*

March 29, 1461.

Hall's 'Chronicle,' p. 253. [English
1st edition, 1542.]

So the same day about 9 of the clocke, which was the 29 day of March, being Palm Sunday, both the hosts approached in plain field between Towton and Saxton. When each part perceived other, they made a great shout, and at the same instant time there fell a small snyt or snow, which by violence of the wind was driven into the faces of them which were of King Harry's part. The Lord Falconbridge, which led the forward of King Edward's battle, being a man of great policy and of much experience in martial feats, caused every archer under his standard to shoot one flight and then made them to stand still. The northern men, feeling the shot, but, by reason of the snow, not well viewing the distance between them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their sheaf of arrows as fast as they might, but all their shot was iost, for they came not near the southern men by forty tailor's yards. When their shot was almost spent, the Lord Falconbridge marched forward with his archers, which not only shot their own sheaves, but also gathered the arrows of their enemies and let a great part of them fly against their own masters. The Earl of Northumberland and Andrew Trolope, which were chieftains of King Harrie's vanguard, seeing their shot not to prevail,

* *Vide* a contemporary ballad on the Battle of Towton, in 'Archæologia,' xxix., p. 343.

hasted forward to join their enemies. The battle was sore fought, for hope of life was set aside on every part, and taking of prisoners was proclaimed as a great offence, by reason whereof every man determined to conquer or die in the field. This deadly battle continued ten hours in doubtful victory, the one part sometime flowing and sometime ebbing; but in conclusion King Edward so courageously comforted his men, that the other part was overcome and fled toward Tadcaster Bridge to save themselves: but in the mean way there is a little brook called Cocke, not very broad, but of great deepness, in the which a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that common people there affirm that men alive passed the river on dead carcasses, and that the river of Wharfe, which is the great sewer of the brook, was coloured with blood.*

26

BERWICK DELIVERED TO THE SCOTS.

March, 1461.

[1509-1534.] Polydore Vergil, 'Historie of England.' Latin, Elizabethan translation, C. S., p. 112.

[After the Battle of Towton Henry VI. and Margaret fled to Scotland, where Henry was 'entertained with all courtesy.']

King Henry being bound by this great courtesy to the intent he might also either bind unto him by some benefit the King [of Scotland], upon whose

* *Vide* 'Paston Letters,' vol. ii., No. 385, and George Neville's letter, already quoted: 'I understand that eleven lords of the enemy's perished, together with sundry knights; the loss on both sides amounted to well-nigh 28,000 men. Oh, luckless race!'

aid he did presently much leave and trust, either else might diminish the force of his enemies, delivered up to him, to have and to hold for ever, the town of Berwick. Yet there is a saying that King Henry did not that willingly but against his will, constrained therunto in this extreme misery, that he might therefore remain in Scotland.

27

EDWARD IV. COURTS THE FAVOUR OF THE
COMMONS.

1461. Warkworth, 'Chronicle,' Camden Society,
p. 1. [English modernized.]

And also the first year of his reign he ordained a Parliament, at which were attainted King Harry and all other that fled with him into Scotland out of England; and for so much as he found in time of need great comfort in his commoners, he ratified and confirmed all the franchises given to cities and towns, and granted to many cities and towns new franchises, more than was granted before, right largely, and made charters thereof to the intent to have the more goodwill and love in his land.

28

LANDING OF QUEEN MARGARET IN NORTHUMBER-
LAND—TREACHERY OF PERCY AND SOMERSET.

April, 1462 to May, 1464. Gregory's 'Chronicle,' p. 218.
[English modernized and
shortened.]

This year Queen Margaret came out of France with fifty-two ships, with Frenchmen and some

Englishmen in the ships. And they landed in Northumberland; it was seven days before All Hallowtide. And there she took the castle of Alnwick and put it full of Frenchmen. And then she returned in Scotland by water. And there rose such a tempest upon her that she forsook her ship and escaped with a boat of the ship. And the ship



ALNWICK CASTLE.

was drowned with much of her stuff and three great ships more. And four hundred and six Frenchmen were taken in the church of Holy Island. Then King Edward heard tell of this and made him ready toward the North with many lords, gentles and commons with him. And there he laid siege to Alnwick Castle, and to the castle of Bamborough and to Dunstanborough. And Bamborough and Dunstanborough were yolden

by Sir Ralph Percy and Sir Harry Beaufort, late Duke of Somerset, to the king's will, with the conditions that the said Ralph Percy and Sir Harry Beaufort should have the keeping of the two castles. The said Sir Ralph Percy and Sir Harry Beaufort were sworn to be true and faithful as true liege men unto our King and Sovereign Lord Edward IV. And the king gave them his livery and great rewards.

And then the aforesaid Ralph Percy returned again into Northumberland, and had keeping of the said two castles. And the said Sir Harry Beaufort abode still with the king and rode with him to London. The king made full much of him, in so much that he lodged with the king in his own bed many nights, and sometime rode a-hunting behind the king, the king having about him not passing six horse at the most, and yet three were of the duke's men of Somerset. The king loved him well, but the duke thought treason under fair cheer and words, as it appeared.

But within a short time after the said Sir Ralph Percy, by false collusion and treason, let the Frenchmen take the castle of Bamborough from him. And then King Edward made Sir John Ashley captain of the castle, and Sir Ralph Gray constable of the castle of Alnwick. And within three or four months after that false knight and traitor, Sir Ralph Gray, by false treason took the said Sir John Ashley prisoner and delivered him to Queen Margaret, and then delivered the castle to the Lord Hungerford and unto the Frenchmen with him; and by this mean he put the king, our Sovereign Lord, out of possession.

[At Christmas, 1463, the Duke of Somerset plotted to deliver the town of Newcastle to Queen Margaret. The plot failed. He joined forces with Sir Ralph Percy, and met and was defeated by Lord Montagu, Warden of the Marches, at Hedgeley Moor, where Percy was slain.]

And the 14th day of May next after [1464] my Lord of Montagu took his journey toward Hexham from Newcastle. And there he took that false Duke, Harry Beaufort of Somerset, the Lord Roos, the Lord Hungerford, with many other ; lo, so manly a man is this good Earl Montagu, for he spared not their malice, nor their falseness, nor guile, nor treason, and took many men and slew many a one that day.

29

THE SIEGE OF BAMBOROUGH CASTLE.

May, 1464. Contemporary account of the siege of Bamborough Castle. College of Arms MSS., printed in 'Chronicles of White Rose,' pp. lxxxvi - lxxxix. [English modernized.]

My Lord Lieutenant* ordained all the king's great guns that were charged to shoot unto the said castle ; Newcastle, the king's great gun, and London, the second gun of iron, the which beat the place that stones of the walls flew into the sea : Dison, a brazen gun of the king's, smote throughout Sir Ralph Grey's chamber oftentimes, Edward and Richard Bombartel and other of the king's ordinance so occupied by the ordinance of my said Lord with men of arms and archers won the castile of Bamburgh with assault,

* *I.e.*, the Earl of Warwick.

maugre Sir Ralph Grey, and took him and brought him to the king at Doncaster, and there he was executed.

[Sentence was passed on him by Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester.]

‘And thou be not true to thy Sovereign Lord, I shall smite off thy spurs with this knife, hard by the heels,’ and so showed him the master cook ready to do his office with apron and his knife. ‘Then, Sir Ralph Grey, this shall be thy penance: thou shalt go on thy feet unto the townsend, and there thou shalt be laid down and drawn to a scaffold, made for thee, and that thou shalt have thine head smitten off thy body, to be buried in the friars, thy head where it pleaseth the King.’

30

MARGARET TAKES REFUGE IN BURGUNDY.

1463-64.

Chastellain, ‘Chronique des Ducs de Bourgogne,’ ed. Buchon, pp. 222, 230. [French, translated and abridged, c. 1473.]

She arrived poor and unprotected, and had neither credit, money, baggage, nor jewels to pledge. Her son had not his royal robe, nor retinue, and she had no gown fitting for a queen. She had only one dress, and was without change of raiment, and had only seven women in attendance, dressed as was their mistress, she formerly a great lady, now one of the poorest; and, in short, she had no other provision nor money wherewith to buy bread except the purse of her knight, Sir Pierre de Brézé. He, too, was in great poverty, for he had spent all his means in her

service, and in carrying on the war against her enemies, and, as he told me, he had spent more than 50,000 crowns.

[Margaret proceeded to St. Pol, where she met Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and her sister, the Duchess of Bourbon. Philip left St. Pol soon after giving Margaret a small present, but no promise of substantial aid.]

There the queen related her adventures to the Duchess of Bourbon, who was greatly moved to pity. She told her how it had once happened that for five days she and her husband and her son had between them only one herring, and not enough bread for one day; and that one day, when she was at Mass, she had not even a brass farthing to offer, wherefore she begged a Scottish archer to lend her something, and he, rather loath, drew a Scot's groat from his purse and lent it to her. She related also how, after her last misadventure,* when she was taken prisoner, she was robbed of all her goods, her jewels, plate, and treasure, which she thought to bring safely into Scotland. Her person was seized, and she was insulted, and threatened with drawn sword, and she was held by her head-dress as though her neck was to be severed; and she was menaced with divers tortures and cruelties while she knelt and with clasped hands wailed and begged for mercy, and continuously prayed to God. And the heavens heard her cry, for soon so great a dispute arose among her captors about the booty that they fell to killing each other like madmen, and ceased to listen

* This incident probably occurred after the Battle of Northampton. The Queen fled, and fell into the hands of Lord Stanley's men near Malpas.

to the woeful and discomforted queen, their princess. Whereupon the queen, perceiving this, begged an esquire standing near, for the sake of the Passion of our Saviour, to take pity on her and to help her to escape. The esquire looked at her, and God caused pity for her to grow in his heart, wherefore he said : 'Madam, mount you behind me, and my lord the prince before me, and I will save you or die, though death is the more likely fate.' Then the queen and her son mounted, and God so occupied the rest that they did not mark her departure.

[Chastellain also tells the story of Margaret's adventure with a brigand. It is doubtful whether this happened after the rout of the Lancastrians at Northampton, or after the relief of Norham Castle by Warwick in 1463.]

31

EDWARD IV.'S MARRIAGE.

May, 1464.

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,' vol. vi., liv. v., ch. xxxiv., p. 455. [French, contemporary.]

Soon after King Edward, knowing that he had made himself superior to his enemies, bethought him to marry, and he spoke to some of his most intimate counsellors of his intention. All were anxious to arrange a match befitting his rank.* Then the king

* The Earl of Warwick already, in April, 1464, had begun negotiations with Louis XI. for a marriage between Edward IV. and Bona of Savoy, sister of Louis' queen. An embassy from France arrived in April, and a meeting between Warwick and the princess was arranged for July. Warwick was prevented from being present by the troubles in the North. The formal announcement of the king's marriage was made at a Council held at Reading in September, 1464.

answered that truly he wished to marry, but peradventure not according to everybody's wish, but to



EDWARD IV.

(From an Old Print.)

please himself; and then, to know his meaning, they asked him, smiling, with whom he wished to ally himself, and he replied that he wished to have the

daughter of Lord Rivers. They said to him that she was not for him. True, she was good and beautiful, but not fitting to be wife of so great a prince as he, for she was not the daughter of a



WARWICK CASTLE.

duke nor earl; indeed, she was the daughter of the Duchess of Bedford, and niece of the Count of St. Pol. King Edward replied that he intended to have her, and none other, for such was his pleasure, whereat his counsellors dared say nothing further.

Warkworth, 'Chronicle,' p. 3. [English modernized contemporary.]

The king was wedded to Elizabeth Gray, widow, the which Sir John Gray, that was her husband, was slain at York field in King Harry's party, and the same Elizabeth was daughter to the Lord Rivers; and the wedding was privily in a secret place, the first day of May, the year above said. And when the Earl of Warwick came home and heard hereof, then was he greatly displeased with the king; and after that rose great dissension ever more and more between the king and him for that and other. And then the king put out of the chancellorship the Bishop of Exeter, brother to the Earl of Warwick, and made the Bishop of Bath Chancellor of England. And after that the Earl of Warwick took to him in fee as many knights, squires, and gentlemen as he might, to be strong; and King Edward did that he might to feeble the earl's power.* And yet they were accorded divers times, but they never loved together after.

32 (I)

THE POSSESSIONS OF THE EARL OF WARWICK.

1468. The Chronicle of Edward IV., known as 'Hearne's Fragment.' Contemporary anonymous. [English, modernized in 'Chronicles of White Rose,' p. 23.]

Sure and of truth it is the said Richard, Earl of Warwick, was sent into Normandy as ambassador with others, whose secret counsellings betwixt the

* For a list of the promotions and marriages of the Queen's relatives, *vide* Ramsey, 'York and Lancaster,' vol. ii., p. 321.

French King and him[self] alone brought him in suspicion of many things, inasmuch that his insatiable mind could not be content; and yet before him was there none in England of the half possessions that he had. For first he had all the Earldom of Warwick whole, with all the Spencers' lands, the Earldom of Salisbury. [He was] Great Chamberlain of England, Chief Admiral and Captain of Calais, and Lieutenant of Ireland, the which possessions amounted to the sum of 20,000 marks, and yet he desired more. He counselled and enticed the Duke of Clarence, and caused him to wed his eldest daughter Isabel, without the advice or knowledge of King Edward.

32 (2)

THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE EARL OF WARWICK.

Holinshed, 'Chronicles,' p. 578. Written, *c.* 1550.

[He was] ever had in great favour of the commons of this land by reason of the exceeding household which he dayly kept in all countries wherever he sojourned or lay: and when he came to London he held such an house that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and every tavern was full of his meat, for who that had any acquaintance in that house he should have had as much sod [boiled] and roast as he might carry upon a long dagger.

33 (1)

THE MARRIAGE OF MARGARET OF YORK WITH
THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

June 18, 1468. 'Hearne's Fragment,' p. 19. [English modernized contemporary.]

In this year [1467] Antony, Bastard of Burgundy, came into England with divers others from Duke Charles of Burgundy to treat for a marriage betwixt the said Duke Charles and Dame Margaret, sister to King Edward, which was concluded.

This seventh year [1468] Margaret, sister unto King Edward before said, departed from the king, and rode throughout London behind the Earl of Warwick, and rode that night to Stratford Abbey, and from thence to the seaside, and went to Flanders and Bruges, where she was married with great solemnity.

33 (2)

1469. Comines, 'Mémoires,' ed. Chemlelauze, liv. iii., ch. iv. [French, *c.* 1490, shortened.]

Of the causes which moved the Duke of Burgundy to marry King Edward's sister, the chief was to strengthen himself against the King [of France]; otherwise he would not have done it for the great love which he bore to the House of Lancaster, to which he was nearly akin through his mother* [she was a Princess of Portugal, but her mother was daughter to the Duke of Lancaster], and as perfect as was his love for the said house, so great was his hatred of the House of York.

* Isabel of Portugal, daughter of Philippa of Lancaster and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt.

Moreover, at the time of his marriage the House of Lancaster was utterly destroyed, and the House of York was no longer spoken of, for the King Edward was the Duke of York, and was at peace; and during the wars of these two houses sixty or eighty Princes and lords of these royal houses had died cruelly, and those that were not dead were fugitives in the said duke's house, all young lords, for their fathers were dead in England, and the Duke of Burgundy had received them as his relatives before this marriage. And I have seen them in such dire need before the said duke had knowledge of them that beggars asking for alms were not so poor; and I have seen the Duke of Chester following on foot unshod in the train of the said duke, begging from house to house, without giving his name.

34

SIR ROBERT WELLES' INSURRECTION IN LINCOLN-SHIRE—CONFESSION OF SIR ROBERT WELLES.

1470.

Bentley, 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 282.
[English modernized, shortened.]

About Candlemas [February 2] last a chaplain of my Lord of Clarence came to my lord my father and me with letters of credence that my Lord of Warwick was at London with the king, whereupon he prayed us in both their names to be ready with all the fellowship we could or might make and assemble, of the commons, what time soever my said Lord of Clarence should send me word. Natheless, he willed us to tarry, and not stir to such time as my

Lord of Warwick were come again from London for doubt of his destruction.

The cause of our great rising at this time was grounded upon this noise raised among the people that the king was coming down with great power into Lincolnshire, where the king's judge should sit and hang and draw great number of the commons. Wherefore, with as many as we might make by all means possible, we came to Lincoln upon the Tuesday. The Sunday after came John Wright to Grantham, and brought me a ring from my said Lord of Warwick, and desired me to go forward, bidding me and us all be of good comfort, for he would be at Leicester on Monday night with 20,000 men and join with us: wherefore he willed me to suffer the fellowship that came with the king from by south to pass northward, and gave them the way to the intent he and we might be betwixt them and the south. Also my Lord of Clarence's servant stirred and moved oftentimes our host that at such time as the matter should come near to the point of battle they should call upon my Lord of Clarence to be king, and to destroy the king that so was about to destroy them and all this realm.

35

THE PUNISHMENT OF FUGITIVES AFTER THE BATTLE OF LOSECOATFIELD.

March, 1470. Warkworth's 'Chronicle,' p. 9. [English modernized.]

And when the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick heard the field was lost, and how their

counsel was discovered, they fled westward to the seaside, and took there their ships and sailed toward Southampton, and intended there to have a great ship of the said Earl of Warwick's, called the



PRISONER BEING SENTENCED AND TAKEN TO EXECUTION.

Trinity; but the Lord Scales, the queen's brother, was sent thither by the king's commandment, and fought with the said duke and earl, and took there divers ships of theirs and many of their men therein; so that the duke and earl were fain to flee to the

King of France, where they were worshipfully received. And King Edward came to Southampton, and commanded the Earl of Worcester to sit and judge such men as were taken in the ships, and so twenty persons of gentlemen and yeomen were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and headed [and impaled], for the which the people of the land were greatly displeased; and ever afterward the Earl of Worcester* was greatly behated among the people for their disordinate death that he used contrary to the law of the land.

36

THE RECONCILIATION OF THE EARL OF WARWICK
WITH MARGARET.

August, 1470.

‘The Manner and Guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers,’ a contemporary account preserved in Stowe’s transcripts, MS. Harl. 513. Printed in the ‘Chronicles of the White Rose,’ p. 229. [English modernized and shortened.]

First, by the mean of the King of France, the said Earl of Warwick purchased a pardon of the Queen Margaret and of her son.

* One of the first acts of the Lancastrians, after the restoration of Henry VI. in October, 1470, was the execution of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (*vide* Warkworth, p. 13). Caxton alone laments him, as a patron of literature. ‘In his time flowered in virtue and cunning none like him among the lords of the temporality in science and moral virtue. . . . The axe then did at one blow cut off more learning than was left in the heads of all the surviving lords and nobility.’ For the popular view, *vide* MS. Arundel, College of Arms, folio 171, quoted in ‘Chronicles of White Rose’: ‘And in those days was taken that cruel executioner and dreadful headsman, the Earl of Worcester,’ etc. *Vide* Fabyan, 659: ‘The bochier [butcher] of England.’

Touching the first point, the said queen was right difficile [hard to please], and showed to the King of France that with the honour of her and her son he nor she might nor could pardon the said earl, which hath been the greatest causes of the fall of King Henry, of her, and of their son.

[King Louis XI. prevailed, and Margaret consented, 'after many treaties and meetings.']

Secondly, by the said mean was treated the marriage of the said queen's son, called Prince of Wales, and the Earl of Warwick's second daughter.*

Touching the second point, true it is that the queen would not in any wise consent thereunto. Sometimes she said that she saw neither honour nor profit for her nor for her son the prince. At others she alleged that if she would she should find a more profitable party, and of more advantage with the King of England. And, indeed, she showed unto the King of France a letter which she said was sent her out of England

last week, by which was offered to her son my lady the princess; and so the queen persevered for fifteen days ere she would anything intend to the said treaty of marriage, the which finally by the means and



EFFIGY OF SIR
ROBERT HAR-
COURT, K.G.

* Anne Neville. *Vide* table of Neville family.

conduct of the King of France and the councillors of the King of Sicily at Angiers was agreed and promised.

37

THE LANDING OF WARWICK AND CLARENCE—
FLIGHT OF EDWARD IV.

1470. Warkworth, 'Chronicle,' p. 11. [English modernized.]

And in the same year aforesaid [1470], a little before Michaelmas, the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick landed in the west country, and gathered there a great people. The Lord Marquis Montagu* had gathered 6,000 men by King Edward's commission and commandment, to the intent to have resisted the said Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick. Nevertheless, the said Marquis Montagu hated the king, and purposed to have taken him; and when he was within a mile of King Edward, he declared to the people that was there gathered with him how King Edward had first given to him the earldom of Northumberland, and how he took it from him and gave it Harry Percy, whose father was slain at York field; and how of late time had he made him Marquis of Montagu and gave him a pye's nest to maintain his estate with; wherefore he gave knowledge to his people that he would hold with the Earl of Warwick, his brother, and take King Edward if he might, and all those that hold with him. But anon one of the host went out from the fellowship

* John Neville, brother of the King maker. *Vide* table of Neville family.

and told King Edward all manner of things, and bade him avoid, for he was not strong enough to give battle to Marquis Montagu: and then anon King Edward hasted him in all that he might to the town of Lynn, and there took shipping on Michaelmas Day with Lord Hastings, with divers other knights and squires, and passed over the sea into Flanders to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgoyne, for succour and help.

38

EDWARD IV.'S FLIGHT TO BURGUNDY.

October 3, 1470.

Ph. de Comines, 'Memoires,' liv. iii.,
ch. v. and vi. [French, translated
abridged, c. 1490.]

By the grace of God this King Edward was staying by the sea coast, and he had there a ship with provisions and two Dutch trading vessels. He had only just time to get on board. Thus fled King Edward in the year 1470 with some seven or eight hundred men, and they hardly knew whither they were going.

At this time the Easterlings were enemies of the English and also of the French, and they had many war-ships at sea, and the English feared them much, and not without cause, for they were good fighters, and had done them great harm in that year, and captured several ships. The said Easterlings perceived from a distance the two ships in which the king was flying, and began to give chase, they having six or eight ships. He was far ahead of them, and

gained the coast of Holland, or, rather, lower down, for he arrived in Friezeland, near a little town called Alquemare, and anchored his ship, for the sea was low, and they could not enter the harbour, and the Easterlings likewise came and anchored near to him.

[Lord de la Gruthuse,* Governor of Holland for the Duke of Burgundy, protected King Edward from the Easterlings.]

And he informed my Lord of Burgundy of this adventure, who was marvellously alarmed by the news, and had much preferred to have heard of King Edward's death.

However, the said duke, seeing that he could not prevent King Edward from going to England, and for many reasons, dared not anger him. He pretended publicly to give him no help, and had it proclaimed that none should go to his aid; but underhand and secretly he handed over to him fifty thousand crowns Burgundian† and furnished him with three or four large vessels, which he had equipped for him at the port of La Ver in Holland, which is an open port; and he subsidized for him fourteen ships of the Easterlings, well armed, bound to serve him for his passage to England and for fifteen days after. And this was a great aid for the time.

* Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruthuse. He was created Earl of Winchester by Edward on his restoration.

† À la croix S. André.

39

COMINES' ESTIMATE OF EDWARD IV.

Comines, 'Mémoires,' liv. iii., ch. v.
[French, c. 1490.]

King Edward was not a man of very high intelligence, but a very handsome prince—more so than any I have ever seen—and very brave. It was very strange for this poor king (for thus he could well be called) to fly thus and be persecuted by his own servants. He was then accustomed to take his ease and pleasure for twelve and thirteen years—more than any prince of his day—for he thought of nothing but of women (more than was right), of hunting, and of the care of his person. When he went out a-hunting, he had always tents brought for ladies.

40

HENRY VI. RESTORED TO THE THRONE.

October, 1470. Warkworth, 'Chronicle,' p. 11. [English modernized contemporary.]

Here is to know, that in the beginning of the month of October, 1470, the Bishop of Winchester, by the assent of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, went to the Tower of London, where King Harry was in prison by King Edward's commandment, and there took him from his keepers, which was not worshipfully arrayed as a Prince, and not cleanly kept as should seem such a Prince: they had him out, and new arrayed him, and did to him great reverence, and brought him to the Palace of

Westminster. And so he was restored to the crown again, and wrote in all his letters, writs, and other records, the year of his reign: 'Anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti quadragesimo nono et readempcionis sue regie potestatis primo.'* Whereof all his good lovers were full glad and the most part of the people. Neverthelatter, before that, at [the time when] he was put out of his realm by King Edward, all England for the more party hated him, and were full glad to have a change. Neverthelatter, when King Edward IV. reigned the people looked after all the foresaid prosperities and peace, but it came not; but one battle after another, and much trouble and great loss of goods among the common people, as first the fifteenth of all their goods, and then an whole fifteenth, and yet at every battle to come far out [of] their own countries at their own cost: and these and such other brought England right low.

41

KING EDWARD IV. LANDS AT RAVENSPUR.

March 14, 1471. 'The Historie of the Arrival of King Edward VI.,' printed in the 'Chronicles of the White Rose,' p. 38.
[English modernized, abridged.]

[King Edward's fleet was dispersed by a storm in the North Sea.]

The king, with his ship alone, wherein was Lord Hastings, his Chamberlain, and others to the number

* In the forty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry VI. and in the first of the restoration of his royal power.

of 500 well-chosen men, landed within Humber on Holderness side, at a place called Ravenspurne, even in the same place where sometime the usurper, Henry of Derby, after called King Henry IV., landed after his exile.

The king's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and in his company 300 men, landed at another place, four miles from thence. The Earl Rivers and the fellowship being in his company, to the number of 200, landed at a place called Powle,* fourteen miles from whence the king landed, and the remainder of the fellowship where they might best get land. And on the morn, the 15th day of March, from every landing-place, the fellowship came whole towards him. As to the folk of the country, there came but right few to him, or almost none; for by the scuring [assuring] of such persons, as for that cause were by his said rebels sent before into those parts, the people were sore induced to be contrary to him, and not to receive nor accept him as for their king. Whereupon the whole fellowship of the king's coming and assembled together, he took advise what was best to do, and concluded briefly that albeit his enemies and chief rebels were in the south parts at London, and that the next way towards them had been by Lincolnshire, yet inasmuch as if they should have taken that way they must have gone presently to the water again and passed over [the] Humber, which they abhorred for to do, they determined to hold the right way to his city of York. The king determined also he and all those of his fellowship should noise and say

* Paghill.

openly that his intent and purpose was only to claim to be Duke of York, and to have and enjoy the inheritance that he was born unto, and none other.*

42

WARWICK COLLECTS FORCES TO MEET EDWARD.

*Letter to Henry Vernon from Warwick,
March 25, 1471.†*

March 25, 1471. Belvoir MSS. : Hist. MSS. Comm.,
12th Rep., App., pt. iv., vol. i., p. 3.
[English modernized.]

Right trusty and well-beloved, I greet you well, and desire and heartily pray you that, inasmuch as yonder man Edward, the King our lord's great enemy, rebel and traitor, is now arrived in the north parts of this land, and coming fast on south, accompanied with Flemings, Easterlings, and Danes, not exceeding the number of 2,000 persons, nor the country as he cometh not falling to him, ye will therefore, incontinent and forthwith after the sight hereof, dispose you to make toward me at Coventry with as many people defensibly arranged as ye can readily make, and that ye be with me in all haste possible, as my very singular heart is in you, and as I may do thing [*sic*] to your weal and worship here-

* 'To convince them of his sincerity, he wore an ostrich feather, the ensign of Prince Edward, in his hat, and commanded his followers to cry "King Henry" wherever they came.'—Holinshed's 'Chronicles.'

† Printed in Oman's 'Warwick,' p. 221.

after. And may God keep you. Written at Warwick on March 25th.

Henry, I pray you fail me not now, as ever I may do for you.*

43

THE DUKE OF CLARENCE DESERTS THE EARL
OF WARWICK.

1471. 'The Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV.,'
pp. 9-11. [English modernized contemporary, abridged.]

About the king's being in Holland, and in other parts beyond the sea, great and diligent labour was continually made by the right and mighty princess, the Duchess of Burgundy, which at no season ceased to send her servants and messengers to the king where he was, and to my said Lord of Clarence into England; and so did his very good devoir in that behalf, my Lord of Hastings, the king's chamberlain, (so) that a perfect accord was appointed, accorded, concluded, and assured betwixt them; wherein the said Duke of Clarence full honourably and truly acquitted himself: for as soon as he was ascertained of the king's arrival in the north parts, he assembled anon such as would do for him, and drew towards the King him to aid and assist against all his enemies accompanied with more than 4,000 [men].†

* The postscript is in Warwick's hand.

† Clarence's troop was levied in King Henry's name. *Vide* 'Paston Letters,' ii. 665, James Gresham to Sir John Paston: 'As for tydings, here in this country be many tales and none accordeth with other. It is told me by the Undersheriff that my Lord of Clarence is gone to his brother, late king; and in so much that his men have the gorget [*i.e.*, the Lancastrian collar] on their breasts and the Rose [the badge of the House of York] over it.

44

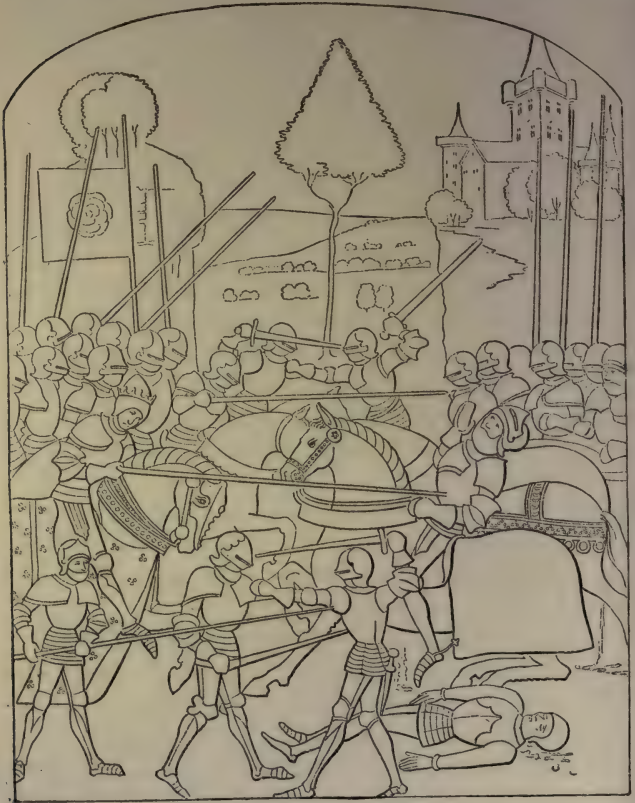
THE BATTLE OF BARNET.

April 14, 1471.

Warkworth, 'Chronicle,' p. 16.
[English modernized contemporary, abridged.]

And on the Wednesday next before Easter Day, King Harry, and the Archbishop of York with him, rode about London, and desired the people to be true unto him; and every man said they would. Nevertheless, Urswyke, Recorder of London, and divers Aldermen, and such that had rule of the city, commanded all the people that were in harness, keeping the city and King Harry, every man to go home to dinner: and in dinner-time King Edward was let in, and so went forth to the Bishop of London's palace, and there took King Harry and the Archbishop of York, and put them in ward. And upon Easter Eve he and all his host went toward Barnet, and carried King Harry with him. But it happened that he with his host were entered into the town of Barnet before the Earl of Warwick and his host. And so the Earl of Warwick and his host lay without the town all night, and each of them loosed guns at other all the night. And on Easter Day, in the morning, the 14th day of April, right early, each of them came upon other; and there was such a great mist that neither of them might see other perfectly. There they fought from four of clock in the morning unto ten of clock the forenoon. And divers times the Earl of Warwick's party had the victory, and supposed that they had won the field. But it happened so,

that the Earl of Oxenford's men had upon them their lord's livery, both before and behind, which was a star with streams: and the mist was so thick that



BATTLE OF BARNET.

a man might not perfectly judge one thing from another; so the Earl of Warwick's men shot and fought against the Earl of Oxenford's men, witting

and supposing that they had been King Edward's men. And anon the Earl of Oxenford and his men cried 'Treason! treason!' and fled away from the field with 800 men. The Lord Marquis Montagu* was agreed and appointed with King Edward, and put upon him King Edward's livery, the sun with streams, and a man of the Earl of Warwick's saw that, and fell upon him and killed him. And when the Earl of Warwick saw his brother dead, and the Earl of Oxenford fled, he leapt on horseback, and fled to a wood by the field of Barnet, where was no way forth; and one of King Edward's men had espied him, and one came upon him and killed him and despoiled him naked. And so King Edward gat that field. And after that the field was done, King Edward commanded both the Earl of Warwick's body and the Lord Marquis' body to be put in a cart, and returned him with all his host again in London, and there commanded the said two bodies to be laid in the church of Paul's, on the pavement, that every man might see them.

45

MARGARET LANDS AT WEYMOUTH.

April, 1471.

Waurin, 'Recueil des Chroniques,'
vol. vi., liv. vi., p. 663. [French
contemporary.]

After all these things had happened, the 16th day of April came certain news to King Edward that

* Warkworth alone is responsible for this story of Montagu's treachery. In the confusion following the cry of 'Treason' in the Lancastrian ranks, it was rumoured that Montagu also was a traitor. He was slain in the thick of the fight by his own allies.

Queen Margaret and her son, called the Prince of Wales, the Countess of Warwick, the Prior of St. John,* Lord Wenlock, and many other knights and squires of their party who had long been absent from England, had arrived on Easter Day at a port called Weymouth. They had tarried long at sea, for, intending to cross from Normandy, they embarked at Honfleur on March 24; but they had always a contrary wind (at the mercy of a great storm which lasted thirty days) till April 13, whereby they had been often driven back to land.

46

THE BATTLE OF TEWKESBURY.

May 4, 1471.

Hall's 'Chronicle,' p. 299. [English, 1st edition, 1542.]

When King Edward knew that Queen Margaret was landed in England, and that the Duke of Somerset, with her complices, had prepared a new army, out of hand he dispatched certain couriers on light horses to see what number his enemies were, and what way they intended to take. The king determined to encounter them at some one place before they came to London.

[He encamped at Abingdon.]

There news was brought to him that his enemies were come to Bath; therefore the king, without delay, removed straight to Marlborough. The queen removed in great haste to Bristow [Bristol].

* Sir John Langstrother, elected Prior of the Hospitallers of St. John in 1468. He was an ardent Lancastrian.

[Being informed that Gloucester was held for King Edward by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, she departed for Tewkesbury.]

When the queen was come to Tewkesbury, and knew that King Edward followed with his horsemen at her very back, she was sore abashed, and determined in herself to fly into Wales to Jasper, Earl of Pembroke. The Duke of Somerset, intending to abide the battle, like a politic warrior, trenched his camp round about so strongly that his enemies by no means facilely could make any entry. He and the Lord John of Somerset, his brother, led the forward; the middle ward was governed by the Prince, under the conduct of the Lord of St. John's and Lord Wenlock; the rear ward was put in the rule of the Earl of Devonshire.

King Edward put his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, in the forward, and himself in the middle ward; the Lord Marquis and the Lord Hastings led the rearguard. The Duke of Gloucester—which lacked no policy—valiantly with his battle assaulted the trench of the queen's camp, whom the Duke of Somerset, with no less courage, defended; the Duke of Gloucester for a very politic purpose with all his men recoiled back. The Duke of Somerset, perceiving that, like a knight more valiant than circumspect, came out of his trench with his whole battle and followed the chase, not doubting but that the Prince and the Lord Wenlock with the middle ward had followed just at his back. But whether the Lord Wenlock dissimuled the matter for King Edward's sake, or whether his heart served him not, still he stood looking on. The Duke of Gloucester, taking the advantage that he adventured for, turned

again face to face to the Duke of Somerset's battle, which were within small season shamefully discomfited. The Duke of Somerset, seeing his unfortunate chance, returned to the middle ward, where, seeing the Lord Wenlock standing still, after he had reviled him and called him traitor, with his axe he shake the brains out of his head. The Duke of Gloucester entered the trench, and after him the king, where, after no long conflict, the queen's part went almost to wreck, for the most part were slain.

The queen was found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow; the prince was apprehended, and kept close by Sir Richard Crofts; the Duke of Somerset and the Lord Prior of St. John's were by force taken prisoner.*

[Prince Edward was brought before the king.]

Whom when King Edward had well regarded, he demanded of him how he durst so presumptuously enter into his realm with banner displayed. The Prince, being bold of stomach and of good courage, answered, saying: 'To recover my father's kingdom and inheritance, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him and after him to me, lineally descended.' At which words King Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or, as some say, struck him with his gauntlet; whom, incontinent, they that stood about—which were George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marquis Dorset, and William Lord Hastings—suddenly murdered.

* These and other prisoners were beheaded May 3, in the Market Place at Tewkesbury.

47 (1)

THE DEATH OF HENRY VI.

*May 21, 1471.*Warkworth, 'Chronicle,' p. 21.
[English modernized contemporary.]

And the same night that King Edward came to London, King Harry, being in ward in prison in the Tower of London, was put to death the 21st of May, on a Tuesday night, betwixt eleven and twelve of the clock, being then at the Tower the Duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward, and many other; and on the morrow he was chested and brought to Paul's,* and his face was open, that every man might see him. And in his lying he bled on the pavement there; and afterwards at the Black Friars was brought, and there he bled new and fresh; and from thence he was carried to Chertsey Abbey in a boat and buried there in Our Lady's Chapel.

47 (2)

CHARACTER OF KING HENRY VI.

Blakman, 'De Virtutibus et Miraculis
Henrici VI.' [C. 1504. Latin, translated and abridged.]

He was like another Job—a simple upright man, fearing the Lord God above all, and avoiding evil. He never used anyone deceitfully, nor spoke falsely

* Another version of the story in MS. Cott., Vitell. A, xvi., fol. 133: 'And about the bier more glaives and staves than torches; who was slain, as it is said, by the Duke of Gloucester.'

to any man. He would never wittingly do any man harm. In church or oratory he never indulged himself by sitting on a seat, or by walking to and fro, as is the manner of worldly men during Divine service, but always with his head bare, and his royal limbs seldom erect, but continually making genuflexions before the Book, with eyes and hands raised he sought inwardly to repeat the prayers, Epistles, and Gospels of the Mass with the celebrant. Also he would allow no one to enter the church with swords or spears, or to converse there.

Concerning his humility in his gait, raiment, and demeanour, he was wont from a youth to wear square shoes and boots like a farmer. Also his cloak was long, with a round hood such as a burgess wears, and his tunic reached below his knees, all dove-coloured, and he avoided anything fanciful.*

Once when he was coming through Cripplegate, seeing the quarter of a man set over the gate there, he asked what it might be. And his lords told him that it was the quarter of a traitor who had been false to the King's Majesty. The king said: 'Take it away. I will not that any Christian man be so

* The prevailing extravagance in dress is censured in the following verses from a contemporary poem (*vide* 'Pol. Songs,' vol. ii., p. 251):

'Ye proud gallants heartless
With your high capps witless,
And your short gownys thriftless
Have brought this land in great heavyness.

With your long peaked shoon
Therefore your thrift is almost done,
And with your long hair into your eyen
Have brought this land to great pine.'

cruelly used for me.* Also four noble gentlemen convicted of treason, and lawfully condemned therefore, he piously released, giving them charter of pardon for their speedy liberation.

48

THE POLICY OF LOUIS XI.

Sforza de Bettini to the Duke of Milan, July 16, 1471.

1470.

Venetian State Papers, i., No. 437.

[Italian extract.]

His Majesty [Louis XI.] approves of your suggestion as to its being desirable to encourage disturbances in England, and says he is doing so with all his might, there yet remaining to him over there the Earl of Pembroke, brother to the late King Henry by the mother's side, who has a good number of towns in Wales; a strong country, with the help of the Scots it holds out constantly against King Edward. To this earl and to the Scots King Lewis has ordered pecuniary assistance, such as is in his power to be given, that they may maintain the war and disturbance, though on this His Majesty does not seem to place any great reliance.

* *Vide* Gascoigne, p. 191, on the King's ignorance of the outside world: 'James Fiennes, called Lord Say, and other persons about the King Henry VI., would not suffer anyone to preach before the king unless he first submitted his written sermon to them, or swore that he would preach nothing against the King's ministers nor acts, nor against his privy (or depraved) council (*privati vel pravi*).'

49 (I)

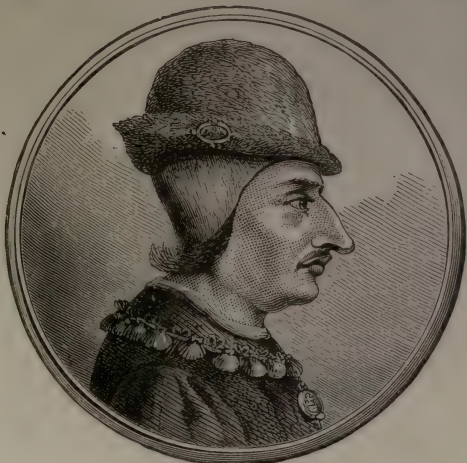
THE QUARREL BETWEEN GLOUCESTER AND
CLARENCE.*Michaelmas*, 1471.Continuation of the 'Chronicle of
Croyland,' p. 557. [Latin con-
temporary.]

After the son of King Henry, to whom the Lady Anne, the youngest daughter of the Earl of Warwick, had been married, was slain at the Battle of Tewkesbury, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, sought the said Anne in marriage. This proposal, however, did not suit the views of his brother, the Duke of Clarence, who had previously been betrothed to the eldest daughter of the same Earl. Such being the case, he caused the damsel to be concealed, in order that it might not be known by his brother where she was, as he was afraid of a division of the Earl's property, which he wished to come to himself alone in right of his wife, and not to be obliged to share it with any other person. Still, however, the craftiness of the Duke of Gloucester so far prevailed that he discovered the lady in the city of London disguised in the habit of a cookmaid, upon which he had her removed to the sanctuary of St. Martin's. In consequence of this, violent dissensions arose between the brothers.

[Edward mediated, and the following arrangement was made:]

The marriage of the Duke of Gloucester with Anne beforenamed was to take place, and he was to have such and so much of the earl's lands as should be agreed upon between them through the mediation

of arbitrators, while all the rest were to remain in the possession of the Duke of Clarence. The consequence



LOUIS XI. AND SIGNATURE.

was that little or nothing was left at the disposal of the real lady and heiress, the Countess of Warwick.*

* She took refuge with Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who imprisoned her. She was released and her property restored to her in 1487 by Henry VII.

49 (2)

LETTER FROM SIR JOHN PASTON TO JOHN PASTON,
DATED NOVEMBER 6, 1473.

1473.

'Paston Letters,' vol. iii., No. 731.
[English modernized.]

Worshipful and well-beloved brother, I commend me to you, and let you wit, that the world seemeth queasy here: for the most part that be about the king have sent hither for their harness, and it is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, shewing as he would but deal with the Duke of Gloucester: but the king intendeth, in eschewing all inconveniences, to be as big as they both, and to be a stifler between them: and some men think that under this there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired; and so what shall fall can I not say.

50

EDWARD IV. INVADES FRANCE.

July, 1475.Ph. de Comines, 'Mémoires,' liv. iv.,
ch. v. [French, translated and
abridged, c. 1490.]

We must now speak of the King of England, who was leading his army to Dover to cross to Calais; and this army was the largest that a King of England had ever brought over, and all the men were mounted and were better armed than any that had ever come to France, and nearly all the lords of England were there.

While King Edward was at Dover, the Duke of Burgundy sent to him for his transport 500 boats from Holland and Zealand, flat and low-decked, and



INTERIOR OF A GREAT LORD'S HALL.

(From Turner's 'Domestic Architecture'.)

well suited for the transport of horses ; but in spite of this large number he took more than three weeks to cross from Dover to Calais.

Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, met Edward at Calais, and accompanied him in his advance to Veronne, and then to St. Quentin. There, contrary to his assurance, the Constable of St. Pol refused to open the gates of the town to the English, and allowed the citizens to fire on them. The Duke of Burgundy on the following day departed from the English army. Louis then made advances to Edward.

[Edward, before embarking, had sent a herald to Louis XI., demanding the kingdom of France.]

The King of France summoned the herald to him in private, and said to him that he knew that the King of England had not come of his own initiative, but was pressed thereto by the Duke of Burgundy and the commons of England; and that the season was already over, and that the Duke of Burgundy had returned to Neuss, a man discomfited and poor; and the King of France gave to the herald many other fair reasons by which he should persuade the King of England to come to terms with him. And he gave the said herald 300 crowns in cash, and promised him 1,000 crowns if terms were made, and in public he gave him a fine piece of crimson velvet of 30 ells.

[Edward IV. agreed to treat, and negotiations were opened at Amiens.]

The English demanded, as is their custom, the Crown of France, or at least Normandy and Guienne. This claim was boldly made and skilfully withstood. After the first day great advance was made, for both parties were very desirous of an alliance.

The King of France listened to their demands and final conclusions. These were: 72,000 crowns down before leaving, the marriage of the king* (that is to-day) with the eldest daughter of King Edward† (that is Queen of England to-day), and the duchy of Guienne for her maintenance or 50,000 crowns annually for nine years, to be delivered at the Tower of London, at the end of which time the king (he who is King to-day) and his wife to enjoy undisturbed the revenue of Guienne, and also our king to be quit of his payment to the King of England. This peace was to last for nine years between the two kingdoms, and the allies of both parties were to be included in it.‡

The King of France was marvellously well pleased when his envoys reported this to him, and he decided that the money should be raised with all diligence, and suggested how it should be obtained, and that everyone must lend something to help in its speedy collection; and the King, Louis XI., resolved that there was nothing he would not do to get rid of the King of England out of the kingdom, except to consent on any consideration that they should hold land.

The King of England, after receiving his money, set out direct for Calais with all speed, for he feared the hatred of the Duke of Burgundy and of the country people.

* *I.e.*, Charles VIII.

† Elizabeth of York, Queen of Henry VII.

‡ The treaty was finally ratified at the meeting of the two kings at Pecquigny.

51

THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

*January, February, 1478.*Continuation of the Croyland
Chronicle, p. 562. [Latin
contemporary, shortened.]

My mind shudders to enlarge upon the events of the ensuing Parliament, for then was witnessed a grievous strife carried on before these two brothers. For not a soul uttered a word against the duke except the king, no one made answer to the king except the duke. Some persons were introduced, but it was doubtful to many whether they came in the capacity of accusers rather than witnesses. The Duke met all the charges made against him with a denial, and offered to defend his cause with his own hand.

Parliament, being of the opinion that the charges which they had heard were proven, passed sentence of condemnation upon him, which was pronounced by Henry, Duke of Buckingham,* appointed Seneschal of England for the occasion.

After this the execution was delayed for a considerable time, until the Speaker of the House of Commons, coming with his fellows to the Upper House, petitioned anew that the matter might be concluded. In consequence of this, a few days after, justice was executed upon him, whatever was the manner of it, in the Tower of London.

* Clarence was declared guilty of high treason by Parliament. Capital sentence was passed by a court of chivalry, held on February 8, of which Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was appointed Seneschal 'pro executione ducis Clarencie' (Rot. Parl., vi. 193-195).

When this deed had been committed many persons departed from King Edward, believing that he would be able to rule the whole kingdom absolutely at his will and pleasure, all those idols being now destroyed on which the eyes of the people, ever desirous of novelty, were accustomed to be turned. The king, however, although, as I think, he often repented in his heart of the deed, henceforward ruled with such a high hand that he was feared by all his subjects, himself fearing no one. For, as he had sent his most faithful servants to different places throughout the kingdom as wardens of castles, manors, forests, and parks, no one, however cunning he might be, could make any attempt in any part of the kingdom without being immediately charged with the same.

52

LOUIS XI. BREAKS THE MARRIAGE ALLIANCE—
DEATH OF EDWARD IV.

1482-83. Ph. de Comines, 'Mémoires,' liv. vi., ch. viii.
[French, c. 1490, shortened.]

We must now treat of the conclusion of the marriage treaty made between the king (who now is, then called My Lord the Dauphin) and the daughter* of the Duke and Duchess of Austria, by means of the people of Ghent, to the great displeasure of King Edward of England, who then held himself cheated of the hope of the marriage of his daughter with the

* Margaret of Flanders, daughter of Maximilian of Austria and Mary, Duchess of Burgundy, at this time not three years old. The contract was signed December 23, 1482.

said dauphin, which marriage he and the queen his wife had desired more than anything else in the world, and they never had believed anyone, their own subject or other, who had warned them to the contrary. But I am sure that his desire did not proceed from ignorance so much as from avarice not to lose the 50,000 crowns which the King [of France] gave him, nor to be deprived of his comforts and pleasures to which he was much addicted. And when he heard the news, his grief was so great that he fell ill, and soon after he died, some said of a catarrh. Whatever were the malady, it is said that the cause was his grief at the said marriage, of which he died in a few days.

53

‘THE HARM THAT COMETH OF A KING’S
POVERTY.’

Fortescue, ‘The Governance of England,’
ch. v., ed. Plummer, pp. 118, 119. [English,
slightly altered, c. 1471-1476, shortened.]

‘First, if a King be poor, he shall by necessity make his expenses and buy all that is necessary to his estate by creaunce [credit] and borrowing: wherethrough his creauncers will win upon him the 4th or 5th penny of all that he dispendith. And so he shall lose when he payeth the 4th or the 5th penny of his revenues, and thus be thereby alway poorer and poorer, unto the time he be the poorest lord of his land. What dishonour is this and abating of the glory of a King. But yet it is most to his unsurety

[insecurity]. For his subjects will rather go with a lord that is rich and may pay their wages and expenses, than with their King that hath nought in his purse, but they must serve him, if they will do so, at their own dispenses.

‘Item, if the King be poor, he shall of necessity make his gifts and rewards by assignments, for which he shall have but little thanks. For the poor man had rather an 100 mark in hand than an £100 by assignment. And often times for lack of money the King shall be fain to give away his land* to such as would have been fainer of £100 in hand, than of £40 worth land yearly, to the great abating of his revenues and depopulation of his realm. But the greatest harm that cometh of a King’s poverty is, that he shall by necessity be arted [obliged] to find exquisite means of getting good: as to put default in some of his subjects that be innocent, and upon the rich men more than the poor, because that he may better pay; and to shew rigour there as favour ought to be shewed, and favour there as rigour should be shewed to perversion of justice and perturbation of the peace and quiet of the realm.† But we must hold it for undoubted that there may no realm prosper or be worshipful under a poor king.’

* This is the most usual complaint in all the insurrections of the period. The only remedy for the indiscriminate liberality of the King was the revocation of grants by Acts of Resumption, *e.g.*, 1450, 1455, 1461, 1467, 1473, 1483.

† *Vide* Plummer’s note, p. 210. This was a favourite financial device of Edward IV. and Henry VII. The treason laws were well adapted to this kind of extortion. In 7 Edward

54

THE FIRST BENEVOLENCE.

1473. Fabyan, 'Concordence of Historie,' ed. 1811,
p. 664. [English modernized, late fifteenth
century.]

This year [1473] this King [Edward IV.], intending to make a voyage over sea into France, called before him his lords severally, both spiritual and temporal, to know their good minds, what of their free wills they would aid and depart with him toward the said voyage. And after he had so known their good disposition to himward, he then sent for the Mayor of London and his brethren, the aldermen, and them severally examined and exhorted to aid and assist him toward the said great journey, of which the mayor for his part granted £30, and of the aldermen some 20 marks, and the least £10. And that done, he sent for all the trusty commoners within the said city, and them exhorted in like manner, which for the more party granted to him the wages of half a man for a year, the which amounted to £4 11s. 4d. And after that he rode about the more part of the land, and used the people in such fair manner that he raised thereby notable sums of money, the which way of the levying of this money was after named a benevolence.

IV. various aldermen of London 'were arrested and treason surmised upon them, wherof they were acquitted, but they lost great goods to the King' (Warkworth, p. 5).

55

EDWARD IV.'S WEALTH.

Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle,
p. 559, sub anno 1476. [Latin contem-
porary.]

He resumed possession of nearly all the royal estates, regardless of those to whom they had been granted, and applied the whole thereof to the support of the expenses of the crown. Throughout all the ports of the kingdom he appointed inspectors of the customs, men of remarkable shrewdness, but too hard, according to general report, upon the merchants. The king himself, also, having procured merchant ships, loaded them with the finest wools, cloths, tin, and other products, and, like a private individual living by trade, bartered his merchandise with both Italians and Greeks through his factors. The revenues of vacant prelacies, which, according to Magna Carta, cannot be sold, he would only part with at a stated sum, and on no other terms whatever. He also examined the register and rolls of Chancery, and exacted heavy fines from those whom he found to have entered into possession of their estates without prosecuting their rights in legal form, by way of return for the rents which they had meanwhile received, added to which he had a yearly tribute of £10,000 from France and numerous tenths from the clergy. Thus in a few years he became an extremely wealthy prince.

56

EXTRACTS FROM THE ORDINANCES FOR THE
HOUSEHOLD OF GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE.

'Household Ordinances,' Soc. of Antiq. of
London, 1790. [Shortened.]

[These rules were drawn up on December 9, 1469, with the assistance of Richard, Earl of Warwick, and John, Earl of Shrewsbury, six months after Clarence's marriage with Isabel Neville. They contain minute regulations for the control of servants, daily expenses, and general management of a great household of the period.]

The chief officers of the household were the Chamberlain, Steward, Treasurer, and Comptroller.*

It is appointed and ordained that [these] shall call afore them, in the counting-house, all the said Duke's servants, commanding and straitly charging them to be worshipful, honest, and virtuous in conversation, restraining them from seditious language, variances, dissensions, debates, and frays, where through any slander or misgovernance might grow.†

Item, that a first dinner in eating days shall be at ten of the clock in the summer season, and a first supper at five of the clock; and in the winter season [one hour earlier]; and at the same dinner and supper, be the carvers, almoners, cupbearers, and servers, and all other officers assigned to serve

* 'The Chamberlain had five servants, the Steward four, the Treasurer with his clerk four, the Comptroller with his clerk three, the carvers and masters of the horses two each, and every other gentleman one.'

† No servant might play dice, cards, 'or any other hazard for money, except the 12 days in Christmas.'

the said Duke, the chamber and the hall; to the intent that the said Duke be well and honourably served.

Item, that the said Duke's almoner have for every day 12^d to distribute in alms to poor people, they to pray for the noble estate and prosperity of the Duke. And that the said almoner, at every dinner and supper, wait upon the said Duke's table, and there take up every dish, when the said Duke hath set it from him, and thereof to make sufficiently the alms-dish, to be given to the most needy man or woman, ever the said Duke's servants to be preferred, if they are needy.

[Food was also distributed from the pantry, buttery, and kitchen. The almoner is charged that 'he it diligently keep from devouring of dogs, and it truly distribute at the gate 4 or 5 days in the week.']

Item, [the Controller, Treasurer, and their clerks be every day at the dresser when the said Duke's chamber or his hall shall be served, and there enter in their books the service going out, that is to say, pieces of beef and mutton, and all other acates;* and in fish days that they see the salt fish stricken, and enter the prices thereof, and see the remains had in to the larder, and every time the clerks fail hereof, to lose 12^d.

Item, That if the said Duke lie at London at the parliament or council, or whensoever he shall occupy his barge, that every of his servants, except such as be appointed to abide, attend and wait diligently upon the said Duke.

* Sometimes spelt 'achates'; *lit.*, things bought—*i.e.*, dainties.

That all such persons as shall attend about the said Duke be in a checker roll in the keeping of the clerk of the avery :* and that every squire of household have $7\frac{1}{2}^d$ every day that he waiteth in the court, every yeoman 4^d , every groom 2^d , every page such wages as shall please the Duke, and once [in the year] clothing.†

* The avery was the place where provender for the lord's horses was kept.

† The total wage bill of the year is estimated at £1,261 14s. 8d. without counting fees and rewards of 'lordes, ladies, knightes, and learned counsail and others not within the said roll.' 299 persons were to be supplied with clothing of different qualities, according to their rank.

57

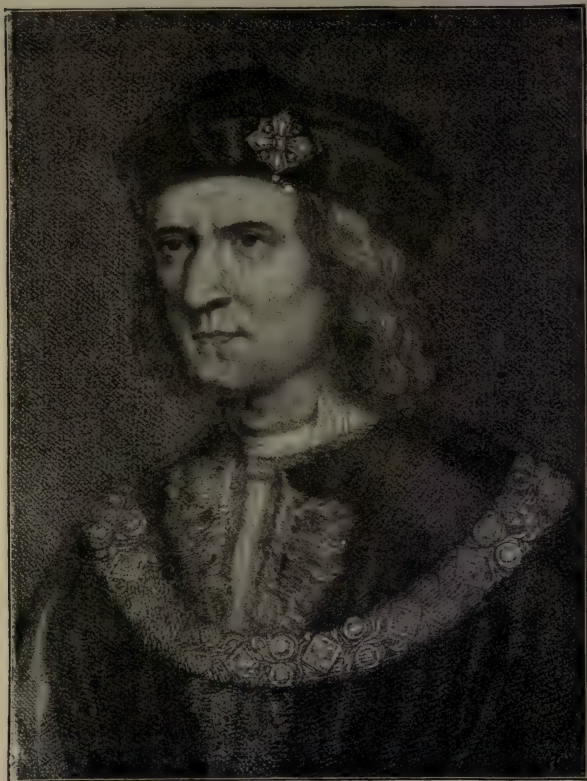
'THE PITIFUL LIFE OF KING EDWARD V.'

April to June, 1483.

PARTIES AT COURT AT THE ACCESSION OF
EDWARD V.1483. Continuation of the Croyland Chrcnicle, p. 565.
[Latin contemporary, abridged.]

While the councillors of the king, now deceased, were present with the queen at Westminster, and were naming a certain day on which the eldest son of King Edward, who was at this time in Wales, should repair to London for his coronation, there were various contentions among some of them what number of men should be deemed sufficient escort for a prince of such tender years to accompany him on his journey, it being the ardent desire of all who were present that this prince should succeed his father in all his glory. The more prudent members of the Council, however, were of the opinion that the guardianship of so youthful a person until he should reach the years of maturity ought to be utterly forbidden to his uncles and brothers by the mother's side. This, however, they were of the opinion could not be easily brought about, if it should be allowed those of the queen's relatives who held the chief places about the prince to bring him up for the solemnization of the coronation without an escort of a moderate number of horse. The advice of the Lord Hastings, the Captain of Calais, at last pre-

vailed, who declared that he himself would fly thither with all speed rather than await the arrival of the



RICHARD III.

(From a picture in Westminster Abbey.)

new king, if he did not come attended by a moderate escort. The queen most beneficently tried to extinguish every spark of murmuring and disturbance,

and wrote to her son, requesting him on his road to London not to exceed an escort of 2,000 men. The same number was also approved of by the before-named lord; for he felt assured that the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, would not bring a smaller number with them.

58

RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, IS MADE PROTECTOR.

May, 1483.

Sir Thomas More, 'The Historie of Kyng Richarde the Thirde,' ed. E. R. Lumby, p. 22. [English, 1513, shortened.]

When the king approached near to the city, Edmonde Sha, goldsmith, then mayor, with sheriffs* and all the other aldermen in scarlet, with 500 horse of the citizens in violet, received him reverently at Hornsey. But the Duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reverently to the prince, with all semblance of lowliness, that from great obloquy in which he was so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust that at the council next assembled, he was made the only man chosen and thought most meet to be protector of the king and his realm, so that (were it destiny or were it folly) the lamb was betaken to the wolf to keep.

* Two named.

59

NEWS LETTER FROM SIMON STALLWORTH TO
SIR W. STONOR.*June*, 1483.Bentley, 'Excerpta Historica,' p. 15.
[English modernized.]

Master Stonor, after due recommendations, I recommend me to you. As for tidings, since I wrote to you we hear none new. The queen keeps still Westminster, my Lord of York, my Lord of Salisbury,* with other more, which will not depart as yet. Whensoever can be found any goods of my Lord Marquis,† it is taken. The Prior of Westminster was, and yet is, in great trouble for certain goods delivered to him by my Lord Marquis. My Lord Protector, my Lord of Buckingham, with all other lords, as well temporal as spiritual, were at Westminster in the council chamber from ten to two, but there was none that spake with the queen. There is great business against the coronation,‡ which shall be this day fortnight, as we say. The king is at the Tower. My Lady of Gloucester came to London on Thursday last.

SIMON STALLWORTHE.

* Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, brother to the queen-mother, attainted by Richard III., subsequently restored by Henry VII.

† The Marquis of Dorset.

‡ The coronation was fixed for June 22.

60

ALLEGED CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE PROTECTOR.

*Letter from the Duke of Gloucester to the
Citizens of York, dated June 9.*

June, 1483.

Davies, 'York Records,' p. 119.
[English modernized.]

Right trusty and well-beloved, As ye love the weal of us, and the weal and surety of your own self, we heartily pray you to come unto us to London in all the diligence ye can possibly, after the sight hereof, with as many as ye can make defensibly arrayed, there to aid and assist us against the queen, her blood adherent and affinity, which have intended, and daily doth intend, to murder and utterly destroy us and our cousin, the Duke of Buckingham, and the old royal blood of this realm.

[Five aldermen with 200 horsemen from York were sent to meet the Earl of Northumberland at Pomfret, to go thence to London.]

61

EXECUTION OF LORD HASTINGS.

June 13, 1483.

Sir T. More, 'The Historie of Kinge
Richarde the Thirde,' pp. 46-48.
[English, 1573, abridged.]

[The Lords met in Council on Friday, June 13, to arrange the details of Edward V.'s coronation.]

These lords so sitting together communing of this matter, the protector came in among them, first about 9 of the clock, saluting them courteously. And after a

little talking with them, he said unto the Bishop of Ely: 'My lord, you have very good strawberries at your garden in Holborn, I require you to let us have a mess of them.' 'Gladly, my lord,' quoth he, 'would God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that.' The protector set the lords fast in communing and departed thence. And some after one hour he returned into the chamber among them, all changed with a wonderful sour angry countenance, knitting the brows, frowning and froting [chafing] and gnawing on his lips, and so sat him down in his place: all the lords much dismayed and sore marveling of this manner of sudden change. Then when he had sitten still a while, thus he began: 'What were they worthy to have that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood unto the king and protector of his royal person and his realm?' At this question, all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which every man wist himself clear. Then the lord chamberlain, as he that for the love between them thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors, whatsoever they were. And all the others affirmed the same. 'That is' (quoth he) 'yonder sorceress my brother's wife, and other with her,' meaning the queen. At these words many of the other lords were greatly abashed that favoured her. But the lord Hastings was in his mind better content, that it was moved by her, than by any other whom he loved better. Albeit his heart somewhat grudged that he was not afore made of counsel in this matter, as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their

putting to death, which were by his assent, to be beheaded at Pomfret,* this selfsame day, in which he was not ware that it was by other devised that himself should the same day be beheaded at London. Then said the protector: 'Ye shall all see in what wise that sorceress and that other witch of her counsel, Shore's wife, with their affinity have by their sorcery and witchcraft wasted my body.' And therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to his elbow upon his left arm, where he shewed a werish [deformed], withered arm and small, as it was never other. And thereupon every man's mind sore misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel.

Natheles the lord chamberlain answered and said: 'Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done they be worthy heinous punishment.' 'What,' quoth the protector, 'thou servest me, I ween, with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor.' And therewith as in a great anger, he clapped his fist upon the board a great rap. At which token given, one cried treason without the chamber. Therewith a door clapped, and in come there rushing men in harness as many as the chamber might hold. And anon the protector said to the lord Hastings: 'I arrest thee, traitor.' And another let flee at the Lord Stanley, which shrunk at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diverse chambers,† except the lord

* Earl Rivers and Lord Richard Grey. The former More describes as 'a right honourable man as valiaunte of hande as politike in counsayle.'

† Halle mentions the Archbishop of York, Morton, Bishop of Ely, and Lord Stanlev.

chamberlain, whom the protector bade speed and shrive him apace; 'For by Saint Paul' (quoth he), 'I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.' So was he brought forth into the green beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down upon a long log of timber and there stricken off.

Thus ended this honorable man, a good knight and a gentle, of great authority with his prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plain and open to his enemy, and secret to his friend. A loving man and passing well beloved. Very faithful and trusty enough, trusting too much.

62

'*THE TRAGICAL DOINGS OF KING RICHARD III.*,'

1483—1485.

THE MURDER OF THE PRINCES.

1483. Polydore Vergil (Elizabethan translation),
p. 189. [English, 1508-1534, abridged.]

Thus Richard, without assent of the commonalty, by might and will of certain noblemen of his faction, enjoined the realm, who, not long after, having established all things at London, took his journey to York, and first he went straight to Gloucester, where the while he tarried the heinous guilt of wicked conscience did so fret him every moment as that he lived in continual fear, for the expelling wherof he determined by death to dispatch his nephews, because so long as they lived he could never be out of hazard: wherefore he sent warrant to Robert Brakenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, to procure their death with all diligence, by some mean convenient. When King Richard understood the lieutenant to make delay of that which he had commanded, he anon committed the charge unto another, James Tyrrell, who rode sorrowfully to London and murdered those babes of the issue royal. This end had Prince Edward and Richard his brother; but with what kind of death these silly children were executed it is not certainly known. But when the fame of this notable foul fact was dispersed through the realm, so great grief struck generally to the hearts of all men that the same, subduing all fear, they wept everywhere.

63

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND BISHOP MORTON.

October, 1483.

More, 'Historie of Kyng Rycharde the Thirde,' p. 88 *et seq.* [Abridged.]

Very truth it is the duke [of Buckingham] was an high-minded man and evil could bear the glory of another, so that I have heard of some that said they saw it, that the duke at such time as the crown was first set upon the protector's head, his eye could not abide the sight thereof, but wried his head another way.

But soon after his coming home to Brecknock, having in his custody, by the commandment of king Richard, doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, who was taken in the council at the Tower, waxed with him familiar. The bishop was a man of great natural wit, very well learned, and honorable in behaviour, lacking no wise ways to win favour.

[P. 89.] This man, by the long and alternate proot as well of prosperity as adverse fortune, had gotten by gréat experience a deep insight in politic worldly drifts, whereby perceiving now this duke glad to commune with him, fed him with fair words and many pleasant praises. For when the duke first began to praise and boast the king, and shew him how much profit the realm should take by his reign, my lord Morton answered: 'Surely, my lord, folly were it for me to lie, for if I would swear the contrary, your lordship would not, I ween, believe but that if the world would have gone as I would have wished, king Henry's son had had the crown and not king Edward. But

after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King Edward to reign, I was never so mad, that I would with a dead man strive against the quick. So was I to king Edward faithful chaplain, and glad would have been that his child had succeeded him. Howbeit if the secret judgment of God have otherwise provided: I purpose not to spurn against a prick, nor labor to set up that God pulleth down. And as for the late protector and now king——'

And even there he left, saying that he had already meddled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his book and his beads and no farther.

Then longed the duke sore to hear what he would have said, and exhorted him so familiarly between them twain to be bold to say whatsoever he thought whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt. The bishop right humbly thanked him and said: 'In good faith, my lord, I love not much to talk of princes, as thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault. And ever I think an Æsop's tale that when the lion had proclaimed that on pain of deth there should be none horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh fled away a great pace. The fox that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that haste. And he answered: "In faith I neither wot nor reck, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts." "What, fool," quoth the fox, "thou maist abide well enough. The lion meant not by thee, for it is none horn that is in thine head." "No, marry," quoth he, "that wot I well enough. But what and he call it an horn, where

am I then ?”’ The duke laughed merrily at the tale and said : ‘ My lord, I warrant you, neither the lion nor the boar* shall pick any matter at anything here spoken.’ Wherupon the bishop said : ‘ In good faith, my lord, as for the late protector, sith he is now king in possession I purpose not to dispute his title. But for the weal of this realm, wherof his grace hath now the governance, and wherof I am myself one poor member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities, wherof he hath already right many, it might yet have pleased God for the better store to have given him some of such other excellent virtues meet for the rule of a realm as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace.’†

Upon this the said duke, knowing the bishop to be a man of prudence and fidelity, opened to him all his whole heart and entent. The way that the duke had devised was this, that they should with all speed find means to send for Henry, Earl of Richmond, and the same Henry to help with all their power and strength, so that the said Henry would first by his faithful oath promise that immediately upon obtaining the crown he would marry Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Edward the Fourth.

* *I.e.*, Richard III.

† More’s history ends here. What follows is from the Continuation of Hardyng’s Chronicle, by Richard Grafton, printed 1543.

64

THE REBELLION OF THE DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

1483. Fabyan, 'The New Chronicle of England,'
p. 670. [English modernized, late fifteenth
century, shortened.]

In this year, the foresaid grudge increasing, and the more forasmuch as the common fame went that King Richard had within the Tower put unto secret death the two sons of his brother, Edward IV., for the which and other causes had within the breast of the Duke of Buckingham, the said duke, in secret manner, conspired against him, and allied him with divers gentlemen.

But how it was, his intent was espied and showed unto the king, and the king in all haste sent for to take him, he then being smally accompanied at his manor of Brecknock. Whereof the said duke being ware, in all haste he fled unto the house of a servant of his own called Banaster, and that in so secret manner that few or none of his household servants knew where he was become.

King Richard, thinking that the duke would have assembled his people, and so to have given him battle, gathered to him great strength, and after took his journey westward to have met with the said duke. But when the king was informed that he was fled, anon he made proclamations that who that might take the said duke should have for a reward £1,000 of money, and the value of an hundred pounds of land by year to him and his heirs for evermore.

Whereof hearing, the foresaid Banaster discovered the duke unto the sheriff of the shire, and caused him to be taken, and so brought unto Salisbury, where the king lay.

October, 1483.

Hall, 'Chronicle,' p. 394. [English,
1st edition, 1542.]

The king was scarce two days' journey from Salisbury when the Duke of Buckingham, accompanied by a great power of wild Welshmen, marched through the Forest of Dean, intending to have passed the river of Severn at Gloucester, and there to have joined army with the Courtneys and other Westernmen of his confederacy and affinity, which, if he had done, no doubt King Richard had been in great jeopardy of privation of his realm or loss of his life, or both. But see the chance, before he could attain to Severn side, by force of continual rain and moisture, the river rose so high that it overflowed all the country adjoining, which rage of water lasted 10 days, insomuch that in the country adjoining they call it to this day the Duke of Buckingham's water.

65

THE EXECUTION OF WILLIAM COLINGBOURNE.

November, 1483.

Fabyan, 'Chronicle,' p. 670. [English,
late fifteenth century, shortened.]

[Buckingham's followers fled to France, and joined Henry, Earl of Richmond.]

While these escaped over the sea, of that affinity was one named William Colingbourne taken, and

after he had been holden a season in prison, he with another named Turbeville were brought unto the Guildhall, and there arraigned; but the said Turbeville was reprieved to prison, and that other cast for sundry treasons; and for a rhyme which was laid to his charge, that he should make in derision of the king and his council as followeth:

‘The catte, the ratte, and Lovell our dogge,
Rulyth all Englonde under a hogge.’

The which was meant that Catesby and Ratcliffe and the Lord Lovell ruled the land under the king, which bare the white boar for his cognisance. For the which and other he was put to the most cruel death at the Tower Hill, where for him was made a new pair of gallows.

66

RICHARD III.'S PROJECT TO MARRY ELIZABETH OF YORK.

Christmas, 1484. Continuation of the Croyland Chronicle,
[Latin.] P. 573.

It was said by many that the king was bent, either on the anticipated death of the queen taking place, or else by means of a divorce, on contracting a marriage with the said Elizabeth. For it appeared that in no other way could his kingly power be established or the hopes of his rivals be ended.

In the course of a few days after this the queen fell extremely ill. About the middle of the following month, upon the day of the great eclipse of the sun, Queen Anne died.

The king's purpose and intention of contracting a marriage with his niece Elizabeth being mentioned to some who were opposed to it, the king was obliged, having summoned a council, to excuse himself, and assert that such a thing had never entered his mind. There were some persons present, however, who knew very well to the contrary. Those in especial who were opposed to this marriage were Sir Richard Ratcliffe and William Catesby. For by these he was told that if he did not renounce his intention, and that before the Mayor and commons of the city of London, all the people of the north, in whom he placed the greatest reliance, would rise in rebellion against him, and impute to him the death of the queen, the daughter and one of the heirs of the Earl of Warwick, through whom he had first gained his present high position. It was supposed by many that these men, together with others like them, threw so many obstacles in the way, for fear lest, if the said Elizabeth should become queen, it might be in her power to avenge upon them the death of her uncle, Earl Antony, and her brother Richard, they having been the King's chief advisers in these matters. The King, therefore, following their advice, shortly before Easter, in the presence of the Mayor and citizens of London, in the great hall of the Hospital of Saint John, made the said denial in a loud and clear voice.

67

KING RICHARD'S PROCLAMATION AGAINST HENRY,
EARL OF RICHMOND.

June, 1485. 'Paston Letters,' 883. (*Vide* also Ellis,
'Original Letters,' 2nd series, i. 162.)
[English, dated June 23, 1485.]

R. R.

Ricardus, etc., salutem.

Forasmuch as the King, our sovereign Lord, hath certain knowlege that Piers,* Bishop of Exeter; Jasper Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, calling himself Earl of Pembroke; John,† late Earl of Oxon; and Sir Edward Wodevyle,‡ with other divers his rebels and traitors disabled and attainted by the authority of the High Court of Parliament,§ of whom many be known for open murderers and extortioners, contrary to the pleasure of God, and against all truth, honour, and nature, have forsaken their natural country taking them first to be under th' obeisance of the Duke of Bretayn.|| The said traitors, seeing the said duke and his council would not aid nor succour them, nor follow their ways, privily departed

* Peter Courtney, Bishop of Exeter, implicated in the Duke of Buckingham's rising in 1483, fled to Brittany, where he joined Henry, Earl of Richmond, who later, as Henry VII., promoted him to the bishopric of Winchester.

† John de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

‡ Brother of the Queen Elizabeth. Another text of this proclamation names also Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset.

§ Act of attainder was passed against all (about 100 persons) implicated in the Duke of Buckingham's rising, by Parliament of 1484.

|| Francis II., Duke of Brittany.

out of his country into France, and there taking them to be under the obeisance of the King's ancient enemy, Charles, calling himself King of France, and to abuse and blind the commons of this said Realm, the said rebels and traitors have chosen to be their



BLUE BOAR AT LEICESTER.

captain one Henry Tydder, son of Edmond Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, which of his ambitioness and insatiable covetise encroacheth and usurped upon him the name and title of royal estate of this Realm of England, where unto he hath no manner interest, right, title, or colour, as every man well knoweth,

which fully entendeth to enter this Realm, purposing a conquest. And if he should achieve his false entent and purpose, every man's lif, livelod, and goods should be in his hands, liberty and disposition, wherby should ensue the disinheriting and distruction of all the noble and worshipful blood of this Realm for ever, and to the resistance and withstanding wherof every true and natural Englishman born must lay to his hands for his own surety and weal. And our said sovereign Lord, as a well willed, diligent and couragious Prince, will put his most royal person to all labour and pain necessary in this behalf for the resistance and subduing of his said enemies, rebels, and traitors to the most comfort, weal and surety of all his true and faithful liegemen and subjects.

68

BOSWORTH FIELD.

August, 1485.

Continuation of the Croyland
Chronicle, p. 574. [Latin con-
temporary, shortened.]

The king's opponents, having landed at Milford Haven, made their way through rugged and indirect tracts in the northern part of that province, where William Stanley* was holding the sole command. Whereon the king sent word to Lord Stanley, requesting him immediately to come before him at Nottingham. For the king feared lest, as it really happened, the mother of the said Earl of Richmond,

* Brother of Lord Stanley, Lord Seneschal of the king's household.

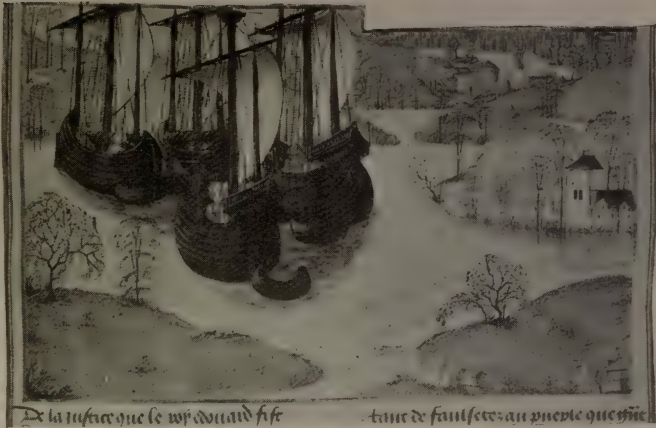
whom the Lord Stanley had married, might induce her husband to go over to the party of her son. He excused himself, alleging that he was ill of the sweating sickness, and could not come. His son, who had secretly prepared to desert from the king, was detected and taken prisoner.

[Richard III. moved with his army from Nottingham to Leicester.]

On Sunday before the feast of Bartholomew the Apostle, the king, wearing the crown on his head, advanced with great pomp, attended by John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and other mighty lords, knights, and esquires, and an innumerable host of the commons.

At daybreak on the Monday following there were no chaplains present to perform Divine service for King Richard, nor any breakfast prepared to revive his flagging spirits. Moreover, in the morning he declared that during the night he had seen dreadful visions, and had imagined himself surrounded by a multitude of demons. His face consequently, always haggard, seemed more livid and ghastly than usual, and he asserted that, to whichever side victory might be given, the issue of this day's battle would prove the utter destruction of the kingdom of England. When at length the leaders and knights of the hostile force were advancing slowly towards the royal army, the king gave orders that the said Lord Strange should be instantly beheaded. The persons, however, to whom this task was entrusted, seeing the issue to be extremely doubtful, delayed to carry

out this cruel order, and, leaving the man unguarded, returned to the thickest of the fight. A very fierce fight now followed between the two parties, and the Earl of Richmond with his knights advanced straight upon King Richard; while the Earl of Oxford,



SHIPS.

From a MS. in the British Museum.

second to him in command of the army, a most valiant soldier, drew up his forces of English and French troops opposite the Duke of Norfolk's position. At length heaven sent glorious victory to the said Earl of Richmond, together with the crown of exceeding value previously worn by King Richard.

69

DESCRIPTION OF RICHARD III.

Polydore Vergil, p. 227. [Elizabethan translation, before 1534, modernized.]

He was little of stature, deformed of body, the one shoulder being higher than the other, a short and sour countenance which seemed to savour of mischief and utter evidently craft and deceit. The while he was thinking of any matter, he did continually bite his nether lip, as though that cruel nature of his did so rage against itself in that little carcase. Truly he had a sharp wit, provident and subtle, his courage also hault and fierce, which failed him not in the very death, which, when his men forsook him, he rather yielded to take with the sword than by foul flight to prolong his end.

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DATE SUMMARY

PART II.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

HENRY VI. (*continued*)—1450-1461.

	Extract.
1450. Parties at Court: Rivalry of Dukes of York and Somerset. Norfolk and York control the Parliamentary elections - - - - -	1
October: York petitions for the stricter administration of justice - - - - -	2
1448-1451. Disorder in the country. Local war in Norfolk. A jury empanelled to acquit Lord Moleyns	4 (1, 2)
1451, May: Thomas Yonge's proposal that York be recognised as heir to the throne - - - - -	5
1452, February: York collects an army and marches on London - - - - -	6
1453, October 13: Birth of Edward, Prince of Wales.	
1453. Battle between the Percies and Nevilles at Tattershall in Lincolnshire - - - - -	8 (1)
1454. The King falls ill - - - - -	7
March: Richard of York is made Protector - - - - -	9
[During the King's illness the Duke of Somerset is imprisoned.]	
December: The King recovers. York dismissed. Somerset restored - - - - -	10
1455, May: York, Salisbury and Warwick take up arms. First Battle of St. Albans. Yorkist victory. Death of Somerset. Capture of Henry - - - - -	11

Extract.

- 1455, November, to 1456, February : Henry's second illness.
York again made Protector.
- 1457, August : Queen Margaret intrigues with Louis XI.
A French force under Pierre de Brézé lands in Kent
and sacks Sandwich - - - - - 12
November, December : Trial of Bishop Pecock
(author of the 'Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of
the Clergy') for heresy.
- 1458, January : Grand Council at London. Reconciliation
of parties - - - - - 13 (1)
March : Award for damages done at the first Battle of
St. Albans - - - - - 13 (1)
- 1458-59 The increasing unpopularity of the Court - 14 (1)
October : Margaret attempts to appoint Somerset
Lieutenant of Calais in Warwick's place. Warwick
refuses to resign, and escapes with difficulty to
Calais. Distracted state of the country ; both
parties arming - - - - - 14 (2)
- 1459, April : King summons forces to join him at Leicester.
Yorkists begin to arm.
September 23 : Battle of Blore Heath. Yorkist
victory - - - - - 15
Yorkists concentrate at Ludlow.
October : Rout of Yorkists at Ludford. Sack of
Ludlow by Henry's force. Warwick and Salisbury
escape to Calais, York to Ireland - - - - - 15
October 9 : Henry, Duke of Somerset, appointed
Lieutenant of Calais.
November : Warwick refuses to give up the town.
December : Attainder of Yorkist lords at the Parlia-
ment of Coventry.
- 1460, January : Capture of Lord Rivers at Sandwich. He
is taken prisoner to Calais - - - - - 16
June : March, Salisbury, and Warwick land in
Kent - - - - - 17
July : Met by the Legate Coppini, and Bourchier,
Archbishop of Canterbury. They march to London 17
July 10 : Battle of Northampton. Yorkist victory.
Henry taken prisoner - - - - - 18

Extract.

- September-October : Return of York from Ireland.
 He marches to London and claims the throne.
 Warwick opposes York's claim - - - 19 (1, 2)
- October 23 : His claim recognised by Parliament.
 A compromise arranged. Henry to retain the
 crown, York to succeed him - - - - 20
- December 30 : Margaret raises a force in the North
 and ravages the country. The Battle of Wakefield.
 Lancastrian victory. Death of Richard of York - 21
- 1461, February 3 : Battle of Mortimer's Cross. Edward of
 March defeats Lancastrian force under Earls of
 Pembroke and Wiltshire. Owen Tudor killed.
- February 17 : The second Battle of St. Albans.
 Lancastrian victory - - - - 22 (1)
- Henry released. Execution of Sir Thomas Kyriel.
 Margaret and Henry withdraw to York - 22 (2)
- February 26 : Edward joins Warwick, and comes to
 London and claims the crown - - - - 23

EDWARD IV—1461-1483.

- March 16 : Edward marches North.
- March 28 : Battle of Ferrybridge - - - - 24
- March 29 : Battle of Towton. Great Yorkist victory 25
- April 25 : Henry and Margaret escape to Scotland
 and deliver Berwick Castle to the Scots - - - 26
- July : [Death of Charles VII. of France. Accession
 of Louis XI.]
- November : Parliament meets for the formal recog-
 nition of Edward's title and the attainder of the
 Lancastrians.
- 1462, April : Margaret makes treaty with Louis XI. Louis
 promises aid.
- September 1 : Margaret lands in Northumberland
 with a French force under Pierre de Brézé - - 28
- They take Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstan-
 borough Castles - - - - - 28
- December : Edward and Warwick march North and
 lay siege to the castles.

- December 24: Bamborough and Dunstanborough
surrendered by the Duke of Somerset and Sir
Ralph Percy.
- 1463, January: Alnwick Castle surrendered to Edward.
May: Alnwick and Bamborough retaken by Scots
through treachery of Sir Ralph Grey and Sir Ralph
Percy.
Siege of Bamborough Castle. Execution of Sir Ralph
Grey. - - - - - 29
- 1463, August: Margaret sails for Flanders and seeks aid
from the Duke of Burgundy, who refuses - - - 30
- 1463, October: Truce between England, France, and Bur-
gundy signed at St. Omer.
Truce arranged with Scotland.
- 1464, January: Battle of Hedgeley Moor. Death of Sir
Ralph Percy.
May: Battle of Hexham. Death of the Duke of
Somerset.
Surrender of Alnwick Castle to the Nevilles, and of
Dunstanborough.
September: Edward announces his marriage with
Elizabeth Woodville to the Council at Read-
ing. This is the beginning of his quarrel with
Warwick - - - - - 31
- 1464-1466. Promotion of the Queen's relatives.
1465. [France: League of the Public Weal against
Louis XI.]
July: Henry VI. put in the Tower.
1467. Embassy from Burgundy headed by the Bastard of
Burgundy to arrange marriage of Margaret of York
with the Duke of Burgundy - - - - - 33 (1)
July: Warwick returns from France at the head
of a French Embassy to oppose the Burgundian
alliance.
- 1468, February: Marriage of Margaret of York with Charles
the Bold of Burgundy - - - - - 33 (1)
Warwick intrigues with the Duke of Clarence 32 (1)
- 1469, April: Marriage of Isabelle Neville (Warwick's
daughter) with Clarence - - - - - 32 (1)

Extract.

- Clarence and Warwick issue a manifesto against Edward.
- June : Rising of the Nevilles in the North under Robin of Redesdale.
- July 25 : Battle of Edgecote. Edward made prisoner and taken to Middleham in Yorkshire.
- September-November : Edward liberated. Grand Council. A reconciliation with Warwick and Clarence arranged.
- 1470, March : Rebellion in Lincolnshire under Lord Welles - - - - - 34
- March 15 : Battle of Losecoat Field. Insurgents routed by Edward. Clarence and Warwick escape. Lord Wenlock refuses them admittance to Calais.
- July : Severe punishment of the rebels by Tiptoft - 35
- Louis XI. arranges an alliance of Warwick and Clarence with Margaret - - - - - 36
- September : Warwick and Clarence land at Dartmouth. Edward escapes to Burgundy - 37, 38
- October : Henry VI. restored - - - - - 40
- 1471, January : Treaty between Edward IV. and Charles of Burgundy. Burgundy promises to aid Edward to recover Normandy and Guienne from Louis XI.
- 1471, March : Edward receives help from the Duke of Burgundy, and lands at Ravenspur - - - - - 41
- Clarence deserts Warwick and joins Edward - 43
- April : Battle of Barnet. Defeat and death of Warwick - - - - - 44
- Margaret lands at Weymouth ; is defeated at the Battle of Tewkesbury. Death of Prince Edward - 45, 46
- May : Thomas Neville, Bastard of Fauconberg, attempts to take London in Edward's absence ; is defeated by Earl Rivers.
- May 21 : Death of Henry VI. - - - - - 47 (1)
- 1471-1478. Quarrel between the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester - - - - - 49 (1)
1473. Edward raises money by a benevolence, or forced loan - - - - - 54
- 1474, July : [Charles of Burgundy lays siege to Neuss.]

Extract.

- 1475-1483. For eight years, with the exception of a session of forty-eight days in 1478, Parliament does not meet.
- 1475, June : [Charles of Burgundy abandons siege of Neuss.]
- July : Edward IV. crosses to Calais with an army of 11,000 men - - - - - 50
- Edward advances to Peronne. Duke of Burgundy refuses to open the town to him - - - - - 50
- Edward advances to St. Quentin. Burgundy abandons him - - - - - 50
- Louis XI. negotiates with Edward - - - - - 50
- August : Treaty of Pecquigny between Louis XI. and Edward. Marriage alliance between the Dauphin and Elizabeth of York arranged - - - - - 50
- November 30 : Defeat of Charles of Burgundy at Nancy.
- 1476, March : Defeat of Charles of Burgundy at Granson by the Swiss.
- June : Charles of Burgundy besieges Morat, and is defeated.
- 1476, October, to 1477, January : Second siege of Nancy. Charles defeated and slain by the Swiss.
- 1478, January : Impeachment of Clarence - - - - - 51
- February : Murder of Clarence - - - - - 51
- 1480-1482. War with Scotland.
- Richard of Gloucester sent by Edward to aid Duke of Albany against James III. of Scotland.
- 1482, August : Berwick Castle surrendered to Gloucester.
- December : Louis arranges marriage between Dauphin and Margaret of Burgundy, thus breaking contract made with Edward in 1475 - - - - - 52
- 1483, April 17 : Death of Edward IV. - - - - - 52

EDWARD V.—1483, APRIL TO JUNE.

- 1483, April : Dispute between the Woodvilles and Gloucester for the guardianship of the King - - - - - 57

Extract.

- April 30: Gloucester and Buckingham meet the King at Stony Stratford. Lord Rivers and Sir Richard Grey are arrested.
- May 1: Queen Elizabeth with her children goes into sanctuary at Westminster.
- May 13: Richard, Duke of Gloucester, is proclaimed Protector - - - - - 58
- Alleged conspiracy of the Queen against the Protector - - - - - 60
- June 13: Arrest and execution of Lord Hastings and of Lord Rivers - - - - - 61
- June 16: Richard, Duke of York, is given up to the Protector and is sent to the Tower.
- June 25: The crown is offered to the Protector, who declares himself King.

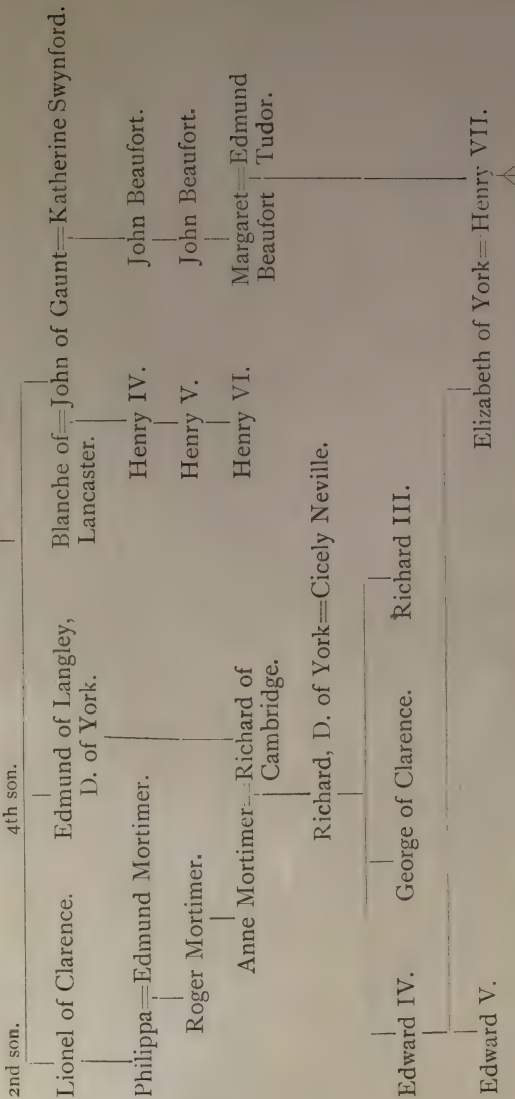
RICHARD III.—1483-1485.

- July: Murder of the Princes - - - - - 62
- July-October: Richard makes a progress through the Midland and Northern counties.
- August 30: Death of Louis XI. of France.
- October: Rebellion of the Duke of Buckingham 63, 64
- November 1: Arrest and execution of Buckingham. His followers escape and join Henry, Earl of Richmond, in Brittany - - - - - 64
1484. Benevolences abolished by Parliament.
- April 9: Death of Edward, Prince of Wales.
- John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, recognised as heir to the crown.
- June 3: Execution of William Collingbourne - 65
- June 8: Richard makes truce with Brittany. Henry, Earl of Richmond, and his friends, formerly at the Court of Brittany, retire to France.
- December: Death of Anne Neville, Richard's Queen.
- Proposed marriage of Richard III. with Elizabeth of York - - - - - 66

	Extract.
1485, April : This scheme formally abandoned Richard levies a benevolence. The sweating sickness.	- - - 66
August 7 : Henry, Earl of Richmond, lands at Milford Haven	- - - - - - 68
August 21 : Battle of Bosworth Field. Defeat and death of Richard III.	- - - - 68
Henry, Earl of Richmond, is declared King.	

A.—LANCASTRIAN AND YORKIST KINGS.

EDWARD III.



B.—HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND TUDOR.

EDWARD III.

John of Gaunt,

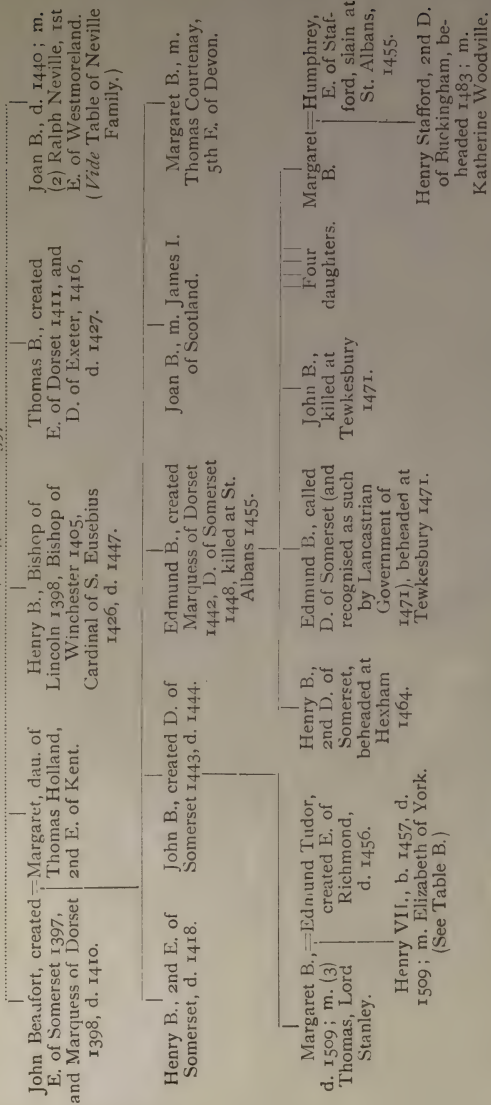
m. (1) Blanche, dau. of Henry,
1st D. of Lancaster, d. 1369. (2) Constance of Castile,
d. 1394.Philippa of Lancaster,
m. John I., King of
Portugal.Henry IV., b. 1366,=(1) Mary Bohun, dau. and
co-heir of Humfrey,
E. of Hereford.Henry V.,
b. 1387, d. 1422;m. Catherine of France, who m. (2) Owen
Tudor, beheaded
after Battle ofHenry VI.,
b. 1421, died 1471;
m. Margaret of
Anjou.Mortimer's Cross
1461.Thomas of Lan-
caster, D. of
Clarence, killed
at Beaugé 1421.John of Lancaster,
D. of Bedford,
d. 1435. Humphrey, D.
of Gloucester,
d. 1447.Edward, Prince
of Wales,
b. 1453, d. 1471.Jasper Tudor,
created E. of Pembroke
1453, D. of Bedford
1485, d. 1495; m.
Katherine Woodville,
widow of the D. of
Buckingham.Edmund Tudor,=Margaret Beaufort,
created E. of
Richmond,
d. 1456. d. 1509. (See
Table C.)Henry VII., b. 1457, d. 1509;
(See Table C.)
m. Elizabeth of York.

C.—HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND BEAUFORT.

EDWARD III.

John of Gaunt=(3) Katherine Swynford.

Born out of wedlock : legitimated 1397.



D.—HOUSE OF CLARENCE, MORTIMER, AND YORK.

EDWARD III.

Lionel, D. of=Elizabeth
Clarence,
d. 1368.

Edmund of=Isabel, dau.
Langley,
D. of York,
d. 1402.
of Pedro
the Cruel
of Castile.

Philippa of Clarence=Edmund Mortimer, E. of March.

Roger M., E.=Eleanor, dau.
of March,
slain in Ire-
land, 1398.

Edmund M.

John M.

Eliz. M., m.
Sir Henry
Percy
(Hotspur).
^

Edward, 2nd
D. of York,
killed at
Agincourt.

Edmund M.,
E. of March,
d. 1424.

Roger M.,
d. young.

Eleanor M.,
m. Sir Edward
Courtenay.

Anne M.=Richard of Conisburgh,
Earl of Cambridge,
beheaded 1415.

Richard, D. of York,
killed at Wakefield.
(See Table E.)

Isabel, m.
Henry Bouchier,
E. of Essex.

E.—HOUSE OF YORK.

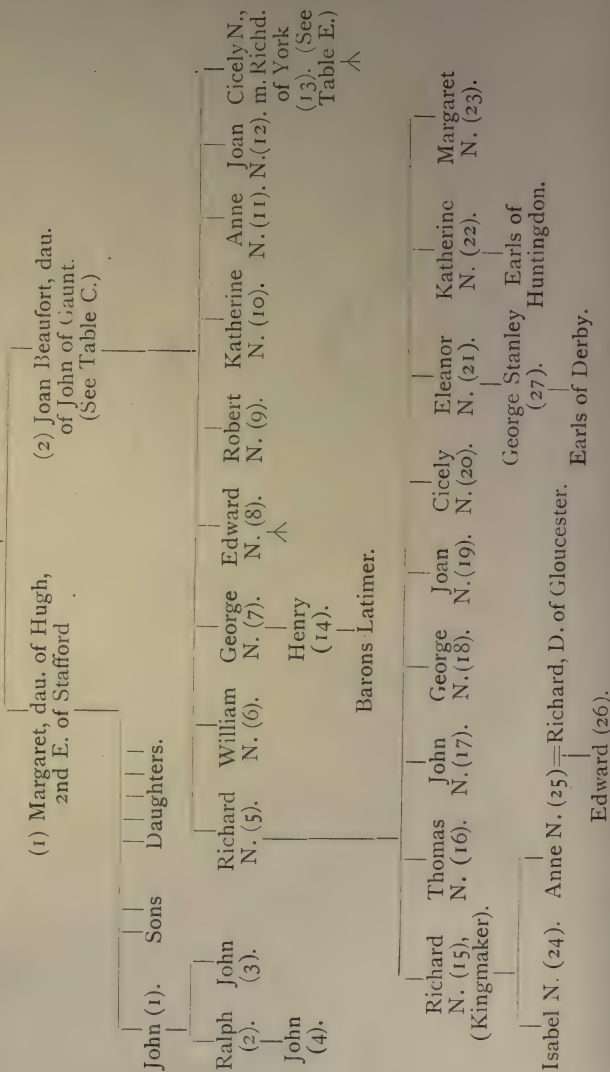
RICHARD PLANTAGENET, =CICELY NEVILLE, dau. of
 D. of York, killed at
 Wakefield, 1460.
 (See Table D.)

Anne, d. 1475; m. (1) Henry Holland, D. of Exeter.	Edward, E. of March (Edward IV.).	Edmund, E. of Rutland, killed at Wake- field.	Elizabeth, m. John de la Pole, E. of Suffolk.	Margaret, m. Charles the Bold, D. of Burgundy.	George, D. of Clarence, m. Isabel Neville; executed 1477.
Elizabeth of York, m. Henry VII.	Edward V., d. 1483-84.	Katherine, m. Sir Wm. Courtenay, son of Edw., E. of Devon.	Richard, D. of York, d. 1483-84.	Richard, created D. of Gloucester 1461, became King as Richard III. 1483, slain at Bosworth 1485.	Richard, created D. of Anne Neville.

Edward, Prince of
 Wales, d. 1484.

F.—THE NEVILLE FAMILY.

RALPH NEVILLE, 6th Baron Neville, 1st E. of Westmoreland, d. 1425.



EXPLANATION OF NEVILLE TABLE.

I. LANCASTRIAN (ELDER BRANCH OF NEVILLES).

1. John, d. 1423 ; m. Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent.
2. Ralph Neville, 2nd Earl of Westmoreland, d. 1484 ; m. Elizabeth Percy, dau. of Hotspur.
3. John Neville, created Lord Neville 1459, killed at Towton 1461 ; m. Anne Holland, his nephew's widow ; took prominent part in family feud.
4. John Neville, killed at St. Albans 1455 ; m. Anne Holland, dau. of John, Duke of Exeter.

2. YORKIST (YOUNGER BRANCH OF NEVILLES).

5. Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, beheaded 1460, after Wakefield ; m. Alice, dau. and heir of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury.
6. William Neville, Lord Fauconbridge, created Earl of Kent 1461, d. 1463 ; m. Joan, dau. of Thomas, Lord Fauconbridge.
7. George Neville, Baron Latimer, d. 1469 ; m. Elizabeth, dau. of Richard Beauchamp, 5th Earl of Warwick.
8. Edward Neville, d. 1476 ; m. Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Richard Beauchamp, Baron of Abergavenny.
9. Robert Neville, d. 1457 ; Bishop of Salisbury 1427, Bishop of Durham 1438.
10. Katherine Neville, m. John Mowbray, 2nd Duke of Norfolk, and (4) John Woodville, brother of Elizabeth Woodville.
11. Anne Neville, m. (1) Humphrey Stafford, 1st Duke of Buckingham, killed at Northampton 1460.
13. Cicely Neville, m. Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York.
12. Joan Neville, a nun.
14. Henry Neville, killed at Edgecote 1469.
15. Richard Neville, 1450 Earl of Warwick (the king-maker), and in 1460 Earl of Salisbury, killed at Barnet 1471 ; m. Anne, dau. and heir of Richard Beauchamp, 5th Earl of Warwick.
16. Thomas Neville, killed at Wakefield 1460.
17. John Neville, Lord Montagu 1461, Earl of Northumberland 1464, Marquis Montagu 1470, killed at Barnet 1471.
18. George Neville, d. 1476 ; Bishop of Exeter 1458, Archbishop of York 1465.
19. Joan Neville, m. William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel.
20. Cicely Neville, m. (1) Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, d. 1446 ; (2) John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, beheaded 1470.
21. Eleanor Neville, m. Thomas, Lord Stanley, created Earl of Derby 1485.
22. Katherine Neville, betrothed to William Bonville, Lord Harington, killed at Wakefield 1460 ; m. William, Lord Hastings, beheaded 1483.
23. Margaret Neville, m. John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford.
24. Isabel Neville, d. 1476, m. George, Duke of Clarence.
25. Anne Neville, d. 1485, betrothed to Edward, Prince of Wales, slain at Tewkesbury 1471 ; m. Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester (Richard III.).
26. Edward Plantagenet, d. 1484.
27. George Stanley, Lord Strange, d. 1497.

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